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ABSTRACT

This 2001 annual publication contains 31 articles on topics germane to the history of education. Each year, this journal publishes papers presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society. After the "Introduction" (R. J. Taggart) articles in this year's issue are: "Origins of the American Federation of Teachers: Issues and Trends between the Two Great World Wars" (D. T. Martin); "Class, Race, and Curriculum in Small Pennsylvania Mill Towns of the 1960s" (B. Frey); "Textbooks for Confederate School Children Pursuit of National Identity during the American Civil War" (O. L. Davis, Jr.); "Elma Neal, 'The Open Door' Readers, and Mexican American Schooling in San Antonio, Texas" (M. D. Davis; O. L. Davis, Jr.); "Defense as Preparation: Houston, Texas, Schools Face the War to Come, 1939-1941" (J. Hammer; O. L. Davis, Jr.); "William Guardia: Who Does So Much for So Many" (C. Elam); "'The Medium Is the Message': Lloyd Reynolds and the Origins of Italic Handwriting in Oregon Schools" (R. Christen; T. Greene); "Why Did Social Studies Become Popular?" (J. Watras); "Give Peace a Chance: College Students Protest and the Civil Rights Movement, 1960-1975" (W. M. Davis; C. Dulski); "The Kaiser Child Service Centers: A Brief Report" (C. J. Anderson); "Analysis of Midwest School Attendance on the Eve of the Civil War: Study of Washtenaw County, Michigan, in 1860" (A. Vinovskis); "Effect of Enlightenment Thinking and Early Nineteenth Century Imagery on Twentieth Century Views of American Indians" (G. Noley; J. Smith); "The Struggle to Reshape the American Mind: Antidotes to Popular Images of Germans in United States Schools" (D. Witkosky; S. Hood); "Flora J. Cooke: Making the Secondary Schools Progressive" (G. L. Kroepel); "Teachers in America: At Odds with the American Ethos" (R. J. Taggart); "Reflection of the Past: Desegregation in Goliad, Texas" (R. Garza); "Drawing from the Past: The Chicago Art Institute and Chicago Public Schools 1879-1914" (D. Corcoran); "Flappers, Bathtub Gin, and Gangsters: The Nature and Purpose of Character Education in Two Curriculum Models" (K. L. Riley; J. Brown); "Using New Computer Technology for Oral History Interviews and Archival Records" (T. Fogg); "'There's No Place like Home': The Modern Home School Movement, 1980-Present" (D. K. Winters); "Historic Perspectives of Multicultural Education" (C. Young); "Paternalism's Reckoning in the Success of the Special Education

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Movement" (M. McKenzie); "Ellsworth Collings: A Re-Introduction" (A. W. Garrett); "Islamic History of Education in Uzbekistan" (T. Boyd; T. Owens); "'Phu Anuman Rajadhon' (1888-1969): On Knowledge and Learning" (J. Gasigijtamrong); "The 'Practicality' of Foreign Language in World War II" (L. Colangelo); "School Reorganization Act of 1961 and Its Impact on Pennsylvania School Reform" (B. Frey); "Reconsidering Paul Hanna's Content Sequencing Theory" (Y. Kim); "Educational Reform and the Unstilled Voice of Progressivism in the Twentieth Century" (J. Smith; C. Vaughn; D. Ketchum); "The Reform of Reform: How Business-Led Reformers Have Changed Their Tune" (R. Taggart); and "The Status of Social Studies Curriculum for World Understanding after World War II: 1945-1950" (S. Kim). (BT)

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American Educational History Journal

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Editorial Policy

The *American Educational History Journal*, formerly the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society*, is devoted to the examination of educational issues from the perspective of diverse disciplines. With the *Journal*, the Midwest History of Education Society encourages communication among scholars of varied disciplines, nationalities, and cultures.

Each year, the *Journal* publishes papers presented at the annual meeting of the Society. The authors come from disciplines ranging from political science to philosophy to marketing to instructional technology to adult education. While the main criterion of acceptance to the conference and to the *Journal* consists in a well-articulated argument concerning an educational issue, the editors ask that all papers offer a historical analysis.

Articles published in the *Journal* do not necessarily represent the views of the editors, the members of the Society, or the University of Dayton. The authors of the articles are solely responsible for the accuracy and truthfulness of their work. The authors are solely responsible for ensuring that they do not infringe on copyright, violate any right of privacy, and do not use libelous or obscene language.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *American: History and Life*.

From the Editor

Several people made possible this issue of the *American Educational History Journal*, formerly known as the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society*. Dean Thomas J. Lasley, II of the School of Education of the University of Dayton supported the project generously. The authors whose work appears in these pages offered work of the highest quality. The editors worked diligently and carefully. UD Printing and Design provided the cover design, printing, and many helpful suggestions. A note of belated thanks goes to Ronald J. Ferguson who served as an associate editor of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* for several years. Unfortunately, I neglected to record Dr. Ferguson's contributions in those publications on which he worked

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7

Introduction

Robert J. Taggart, President of MWHES
University of Delaware

The 2001 issue of the journal contains a fine assortment of varied topics germane to the history of education. Many states are represented in the 30 articles: from Illinois to Alabama, and Pennsylvania to Oregon, as are the nations of Thailand and Uzbekistan. I have identified nine categories that characterize the articles. First, the "clash of cultures" is represented by Frey, "Class, Race and Curriculum," who shows how a typical 1950s Pennsylvania comprehensive high school changed its curriculum during the 1960s but maintained the racial bias inherent in its tracking system; Garza explains how white educators in a small Texas town handicapped Mexican American children by expecting little from them; McKenzie notes the paternalism implicit in government and school policies to help special education students; and Davis and Dulski explain that the college student unrest of the 1960s was an extension of the Civil Rights struggle and the antiwar movement.

In the second theme, three authors represent multiculturalism. Davis and Davis write about Elma Neal, a San Antonio administrator who wrote instructional material specifically for Mexican American students in the 1930s and 1940s, one of the earliest to do so; Elam describes the career of William Guardia, another Mexican American educator from San Antonio who wrote textbooks and curriculum materials for Mexican American students and helped to draft the federal Bilingual Act of 1968; and Young describes how educators can foster a pluralistic society through the use of literature which explicates students' cultural backgrounds in order to develop effective multicultural classroom instruction and a positive school environment for all children.

The closely related theme of stereotypes is the topic of Smith and Noley, who consider the harmful racial prejudices toward Native Americans held by Jefferson and Rush, the American film industry and children's books. Witkosky and Hood consider the negative stereotypes held by Americans toward Germans as result of World War II and how this contributes to our cultural isolation. Vinovskis reports on a different kind of stereotype, the well-established view of historians that industrialization caused the rise in school attendance during the 19th century. However, Vinovskis refutes the accepted thesis by demonstrating that rural school attendance in one Michigan county was higher than in urban areas. Colangelo continues this theme through her study of Americans' dislike of studying German and other foreign languages unless they can be considered practical studies. Gasigijtamrong describes a multicultural scholar from Thailand, Phya Rajadhon, who integrated the ideas and customs of East and West as a model of the self-educated man who never ceased in his personal search for truth. Boyd and Owens insist Sunni Islam influences Uzbekistan's leaders to reject Western ideas of education and secular training.

Progressive education is another major theme. Kroepel considers the innovative work of Flora Cooke, principal of the Francis W. Parker School in Chicago for three decades as a model for other secondary schools, including those that participated in the later Eight-Year Study. Kim reconsiders Paul Hanna's content sequencing theory for elementary education in which he made extensive use of inquiry-related principles in social studies, centering on such human activities as communication. Garrett writes about Ellsworth Collings, a progressive educator known for his life-long passion to the project curriculum in the rural schools of Oklahoma. Smith, Vaughn, and Ketchum point out that progressive educators' purposes, values, and social-intellectual tenets continue to underpin the recurrent reform efforts of the 20th century. The "authentic practices"

movement of recent years is one example of these efforts, though the authors remind us of mistakes made due to people's collective ignorance of the past.

Watras continues on curriculum issues, as he suggests that educators did not "wrestle away" history from historians to support the field of social studies, but rather historians themselves sponsored the effort. The field of history changed by the 1930s to encompass contemporary problems and the other social sciences, led by the American Historical Association. Christen and Greene note the fight over the retention of Italic handwriting in the Portland, Oregon schools as a way to shape character and mental abilities through the craft of penmanship, not just as a method of communication.

Anderson suggests education as enrichment, beyond mere academic knowledge, as she portrays the Kaiser Child Service Centers during World War II. This childcare center at the gates of a shipyard in Portland, Oregon provided a full-service, veritable extension of the family. It had three teachers per classroom, an infirmary, meals, and immunizations, on a 24-hour schedule. Corcoran relates the educational activities of the Chicago Art Institute a century ago, which involved classes for adults at the Institute and close ties to the public schools, from training most of the art teachers to the display of children's artwork. Riley and Brown discuss physical education as character education, just as important and similar to that which is found in social studies and other fields.

Teachers and reform constitute the subject of four articles. Martin considers the origins and development of the American Federation of Teachers between the two world wars, and its fight against both hostile school boards and communist infiltration during the Great Depression. Frey looks at the struggle over the Pennsylvania School Reorganization Act of 1961 between urban Democrats and rural Republicans. The urbanites were able to pass this state centralization bill in the legislature but rural representatives overturned the bill later, thereby allowing some consolidation of districts without a massive loss of local control. Taggart considers late 20th century business-led school reform as an ironic antidote to the school reform of their business-oriented grandparents. The irony is that earlier reformers demanded efficient education through standardization and hierarchy, whereas later reformers blame education for this rigid system. In another article, Taggart also suggests that teachers will never be considered serious professionals because they do not fit the American ethos of power and economic gain as the measure of one's worth.

Another theme is education during wartime. Davis identifies the partially successful attempt by Confederates during the Civil War to publish and import textbooks loyal to Confederate ideology, including the justification of slavery and state's rights. Davis and Hammer look at the response of the Houston, Texas public school system during World War II. They report that the schools attempted to maintain normal conditions, despite the overcrowding and the heightened emphasis on patriotism.

The last two articles consider the possible future. Winters insists that Home Schools are a viable option for children to both public and private schools because of their superior academic achievement and socialization. Fogg discusses the new computer technologies available for qualitative research, be it oral history or archival research. The speech recognition software being developed will provide a superior system because it will be less labor intensive and be more accessible to others when coupled with an archival website. As one can see, these thirty articles represent a broad collection of topics that historians and other educators will find interesting and informative.

Editor's Note: The few articles not described above had been omitted from last year's journal.

Origins of the American Federation of Teachers: Issues and Trends Between the Two Great World Wars

Don T. Martin
University of Pittsburgh

From the beginning of teacher unionism in 1902, until the Chicago Federation of Teachers in 1915 called for a national teacher organization, teacher unionism was a local affair. Each teacher association organized locally and did not affiliate with national labor organizations or with national education associations. But on May 9, 1916, the American Federation of Teachers was formally chartered as an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor. In four years the AFT had gone from eight locals and about 3,000 members, to 180 locals and about 10,000 members. Chartering and maintaining locals, however, was not as easy as these growth figures indicated, for early on in the formation of the AFT there were signs of a pattern of hostility growing that was to cut the union's membership by nearly half during the next ten years (Stecker 1926).

One of the early problems of teacher unionization can be recognized in the early charters as they were written establishing the size of the local. While some of the larger locals were able to survive the normal attrition of the time, many of the smaller ones could not. But even some locals in large cities, such as the one in Philadelphia, chartered in 1919, also found the going difficult. As stated earlier, by the end of the 1920s, membership in the Federation had dropped to less than 5,000, which was about half the 1920 membership. The decline in membership can be attributed in large part to strong opposition to teacher unionism by local school boards, school administrators, some teachers, and especially the business community. The latter group had particularly become alarmed at the rapid growth of the AFT (Stecker 1926).

Yellow Dog Contracts

Another major cause of the decline of the AFT in the 1920s was the creation and implementation of what became known as the yellow-dog contract. These so-called contracts were instituted not only as anti-union schemes against teacher unions but were used against most of the other unions in the 1920s. Many boards of education required teachers to sign contracts which essentially barred them from joining any labor union for whatever reason. These yellow-dog contracts, much-hated by rank-and-file unionists, became the rallying cry for many union organizers, and played a key role in the eventual formation of the AFT (Elder 1955).

Tenure

While much importance has been attached to the strength of unionism and union solidarity in the early years of the growth of teachers unions, it was the no-strike pledge in the union's constitution that nullified its most powerful weapon of defense. Without this weapon the union had no way to counteract the many threats of mass firing. On a related issue, and perhaps more important, teachers without tenure were even more at the mercy of the school boards, the school superintendents, and especially the economic environment of the times. Without tenure a teacher could be automatically dismissed at the close of the school's yearly sessions. The fear of dismissal of non-tenured teachers was perhaps best expressed in an article in a popular national magazine in 1919:

> Her reappointment [female teachers] may be held up by objections from members of the Board of Education. Such objections are not necessarily based on a teacher's record; they may be purely personal. In many states the teacher may be dismissed without presentation of charges and without a hearing. As membership of a board of education is usually a matter of political appointment, the dangers of such a system are self-evident (Wilson 1919, 2).

Low Salaries

It is debatable as to whether tenure would have significantly insured more stability in the teaching staffs of the nation's public schools. But tenure surely would have prevented qualified teachers from having to bid for their jobs during times of economic hardship. And, undoubtedly, it was low salaries that caused the mass exodus of teachers from the teaching profession when higher paying positions became available in other segments of the economy. For example, World War I temporarily opened an amazingly broad field of occupations to large numbers of women. A significant rush of teachers into other types of employment created shortages of qualified, competent teachers on all levels of the public schools. Drawing from the previously cited article:

> Such desertions from the teaching profession were multiplied by the hundred thousand, so that now the shortage of teachers is variously estimated at one-six to one-third of the number employed before the war. In thousands of schools throughout the country, important subjects have had to be dropped from the curriculum because teachers simply could not be obtained; in others, these subjects have been retained at the sacrifice of employing inferior teachers (Wilson 1919, 2).

Therefore, there is little doubt that low salaries and lack of tenure directly and significantly contributed to the formation and the growth of early American Federation of Teacher affiliates.

Another major problem facing teachers in the 1920s was the question of whether married women would be able to retain their teaching positions. Incredible as it seems by contemporary standards, many school boards adopted a rule prohibiting married women from teaching. Of course, most teachers considered this rule unfair to those women teachers who were qualified and efficient; therefore, they protested to the school boards asking that it be rescinded, especially considering the fact that in many cases the positions of those dismissed because of their marital status were filled by teachers of lower qualifications (Wayne State Archives 1920).

The right for married women to retain their teaching jobs became a drawing card for membership drives in the 1920s; for example, AFT locals in both Cleveland, Ohio and Pueblo, Colorado. The Cleveland local No. 279 won the right for women teachers to marry, and then continued to campaign until this right was established at the state level. Pueblo Local 567 successfully fought a policy depriving married women of their tenure and pension if they married while employed as teachers (Elder 1955).

In addition to banning married women from teaching, school boards had frequently placed other restrictions on the personal freedoms of their employees. Among these were requiring them to live within the school district; warning them not to smoke or

drink intoxicants; requiring them to teach Sunday School; and requiring them to attend PTA meetings. Such restrictions were consistently opposed by the AFT locals (Elder 1955).

Political Opposition A Factor

In an effort to keep AFT locals informed about the problems and successes of other Federation affiliates throughout the United States, the Office of the Secretary-Treasurer began to issue periodic reports on the various activities of all the locals. For example, when the Lancaster, Pennsylvania teacher's organization was chartered in April, 1920, the Board of Education immediately began an effort to destroy the AFT local. The Board "elected" [hired] only teachers who were not members of the Federation. Eighty-two teachers, about fifty percent of the teaching force, were dropped. The bulletin report stated that:

> This is purely a political fight. The party in power has always been able to control everything including the schools. Organization by the teachers means a challenge to this control and its ultimate loss. Any effort on the part of the teachers...will tend to disclose the situation and acquaint the public with the true conditions. Such thoughts produce terror in the minds of politicians....Soon after the local was organized, orders went out to smash it. The superintendent assisted in efforts to bring about a rival organization which was unsuccessful. Then the superintendent and the board members began working on the weak members of the organization. A few were forced out against their wishes....All members of the organizations were dropped and at the same time all other teachers were elected, including two that had been dead for a number of months...(Wayne State Archives 1920, 2).

The future for democracy in public education at that time was surely held to be tentative at best, especially when it came to their own working conditions and future aspirations.

1930's Growth and Its Ensuing Problems

The 1930's brought new problems for public schools brought on by the devastation wrought by a worldwide economic depression that resulted in sharp expenditure reductions and in deep salary cuts for the nation's teachers. Educational expenditures during the decade that followed the Crash of 1929 dropped by 500 million nationally; salaries were halved and even paper script sometimes replaced real money in the teachers' pay envelopes. In 1931, when alarm buttons were going off throughout the public school community, unionized teachers gathered for the AFT's fifteenth anniversary convention. There they heard their president declare: "Only now are we at the beginning of a social era that is likely to prove favorable to the development of a movement such as the organization of teacher unions" (*Changing Education* 1966, 26). In the adverse conditions of the period between 1930 and 1939, membership in the American Federation of Teachers grew from 7,000 to 32,000 (*Changing Education* 1966). Teachers sought any protection they could find from fear of the economic uncertainties they were facing then.

Communism

Along with the economically adverse conditions of the times caused by the deepest and most severe economic depression in all of United States history, the AFT found itself involved in charges of being infiltrated by members of the American Communist Party. In 1935, the president of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, urged the AFT's annual convention to revoke the charter of Local 5 of the teacher's union in New York City. It was alleged that a few Communist leaders, recognizing the potential appeal of the free trade union movement, had made an effort to capture the AFT local. The Communist members allegedly were accused of tactics of destruction, brow-beating, and name-calling which, it was claimed, had been employed to such an extent in Local 5 that by 1933 it had become almost impossible for the local to have functioned (Elder 1955).

Local 5, which had been a charter member of the American Federation of Teachers since 1916, set up a board to hold hearings on the conduct of its internal affairs. John Dewey, also a charter member of the AFT, served as its chairman. The time established to present their views was divided equally between the grievance committee of Local 5, which represented more than ninety per cent of the local membership, and those viewed as being obstructionists. Hearings dragged on for months but accomplished very little. Finally, Local 5 petitioned the national AFT office to investigate their problem. In May, 1935, the national executive council sent an investigating committee into New York City. This committee contended that Local 5 at that time was helpless and completely at the mercy of a small obstructionist group. A report to this effect was presented to the AFT's 1935 annual convention and a motion was made to revoke Local 5's charter. The Local's own delegate urged its passage but the two-thirds vote necessary to revoke a charter was not achieved. Unable to form a new local, many of those who sought revocation of Local 5's charter organized the independent New York Teachers Guild, but a solution to the problem was not achieved until the turn of the new decade. In 1939m in what AFT old-timers called "The First Battle of Buffalo," democratic leaders at the annual convention mustered all their strength and by a narrow margin of twenty-four votes elected as its president Professor George Counts of Columbia University. Subsequently, in 1940, Professor Counts was reelected by a decisive 408-to-238 vote. The new executive council was largely composed of members opposed to the "outside" domination of Local 5 (Elder 1955).

The new council formed an investigating committee to look into the affairs of the alleged Communist locals, two of them in New York and one in Philadelphia. As a result of this investigation, at a special meeting in Chicago, on February 1941, the council recommended expulsion of the three locals. For a month the matter was debated in local unions. On March 31, 1941, official ballots were sent to AFT members and on June 6, 1941 a tabulation revealed that, excluding the three locals that involved eighty percent of the AFT membership had voted to revoke the charters of Locals 5 and 537 of New York and Local 192 of Philadelphia (Elder 1955).

Summary

In what was often referred to as a struggle to preserve the future for democracy, unionized teachers from different parts of the country banded together to form the AFT.

They believed that the keystone to their success was to be found in the deepening bonds that existed between the working classes and teachers. The original band of eight locals and 2,969 members felt, as originally John Dewey and Samuel Gompers did, that teachers were workers employed by school boards, and as such they had the right to bargain for higher wages and better working conditions. Helped mainly by the teacher shortage created by the aftermath of WWI when teachers left their positions for higher-paying jobs in industry, the Federation, through aggressive action, grew rapidly. Unfortunately, for the AFT's membership drives, many of these locals were too small in size to withstand continual attacks by local school boards, as well as the normal forces of attrition in the teaching profession. By the close of the 1920s, out of a total teacher population of over one million, AFT membership decreased to less than 5,000.

In the 1930s, challenges to the effective operation of the AFT came largely from left-wing political minorities and as a study of the history of the AFT produced by the AFT's Commission of Educational Reconstruction concluded:

> The official publications of the New York and Philadelphia locals showed a wavering and fluctuating Communist Party line. Local 5 was expelled from the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and from the Joint Organization of Teachers, but their support of the Communist program continued. The hard won progress of the American Federation of Teachers was being challenged from within. Here was a struggle for survival (Clancy 1966, 56).

After nearly a quarter of a century in which the AFT had fought for changes in teachers' working conditions and in the American educational system, it had taken on as its immediate major mission the cause of ridding its organization of those they believed were trying to use the teacher unions to effect revolutionary changes in the very structure and form of the government of the United States. In the end, the AFT declared itself to be on the side of American democracy by purging from their organization those they believed to be undemocratic Communists. But clearly the AFT's claim that only it could preserve the future of democracy in public education rang hollow.

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Class, Race and Curriculum in Small Pennsylvania Mill Towns of the 1960's

Bradshaw Frey
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Aliquippa and Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania were two small mill towns about 30 miles down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh (actually northwest geographically). Built around steel mills, these towns had social and economic realities reflective of Gary, IN but radically smaller. Both communities had well established, successful high schools, but both schools would undergo significant change in the sixties. It is the purpose of this paper to examine the educational realities of those small mill towns along the lines that Cohen developed and see if they reflected the dynamic changes/tensions which a larger school like Gary underwent.

Steel towns are always given to boom and bust cycles but in the 1960's Aliquippa and Beaver Falls were relatively stable blue collar towns. Most boys anticipated jobs in the mill while girls would be wives and mothers and in that context school could be important (Cohen xiii, and, Mihalik).

Curriculums at the two schools looked very similar and not innovative following what seemed standard for most high schools. Both schools had the same academic departments (which were likely standard since the schools were accredited both through the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction and Middle States Accrediting Association) which were: English; Social Studies (History at Aliquippa); Business; Math; Music and Art; Science; Foreign Language; Industrial Arts and Home Economics; and, Health and Safety (including phys ed). In both schools the three largest groupings of faculty were English, Business and Social Studies (in that order at both schools).

During the decade of the sixties there didn't seem to be much difference in the attention given various areas in the curriculum. A comparison of the booklet given incoming students in 1960-61 with one later in the decade at Beaver Falls showed virtually no change in requirements. The only three changes in the college preparatory curriculum were: the exchanging of one semester of world cultures for American History between sophomore and senior years; the substitution in a category called 'basic subjects' of a course titled "Great Books" for "Growth of Ideas;" and, an English elective possibility in both junior and senior years. There was no change in either the 'Business' track (general), or the 'Industrial Arts' track (Beaver Falls High School Program of Study).

The scramble to catch the Soviets presumed superiority in math and science, which attracted so much national attention in the late fifties and early sixties (see Joel Spring's, *The Sorting Machine: National Educational Policy Since 1945*) seemed to have minimal impact in these schools. There were no teacher additions in these areas, no changes in requirements, and no new clubs forming. There could have been new content in the courses themselves (i.e. 'new math') but there is no indication of this in the plan of study.

There were a number of predictable elements of education at the Aliquippa and Beaver Falls schools. In many ways it resembled what James Conant was looking for in the 'comprehensive' high school. Conant said there were three things which characterized a comprehensive high school: first, to provide a general education for all the future citizens; second, to provide good elective programs for those who wish to use their acquired skills immediately upon graduation; and, third, to provide satisfactory programs for those whose vocations will depend on their subsequent education in a college or university (Conant 1959, 17). Both schools had these areas of emphasis. Conant continued by describing how he would study

schools to see if they measured up to his expectations. Fifteen categories were laid out some of which would required a more qualitative judgment [such as # 13 – student morale] (Conant, 1959, 19, 20). Most schools did not meet Conant's criteria, nonetheless, like most schools, Aliquippa and Beaver Falls met a majority of his criteria. In a second book in 1967 Conant again lists what he thinks should characterize a comprehensive high school and again the schools in this study were representative of his expectations (Conant 1967, 66, 67).

If these schools are beginning to sound remarkably typical, it is because they were. Many of the characteristics which were common for schools appeared in these schools as well. For instance, the themes of socialization (Americanization) and control were apparent. In a 1959 document entitled, "Philosophy of Beaver Falls High School," the first four (out of 14) directives are stated in such a way that one gets a "flavor" of the document:

1. The school operates to teach the students an acceptable way of life, by adopting and adapting the heritage of the past to the immediate present and the predictable future.
2. The school advocates democratic principles in management and control, except when such are contrary to the considered judgment of the administration.
3. Student government is supported to support worthwhile activities within the limits defined by the administration.
4. Faculty members are enlisted to direct classes and activities, in accord with views expressed positively and negatively by the administration (Philosophy of Beaver Falls High School).

The first element of this list certainly affirms a socializing agenda when it states, "the school operates to teach students *an acceptable way of life*." This document also creates an aura of control in the school. Its curious use of the term "democratic" seems not to mean what is commonly understood by the term but rather that 'there is a procedure to be followed,' or, 'individuals are expected to take the initiative to follow the rules' (set by the administration). In fact, the document isn't really a document about the philosophy of education as much as it is a procedural document.

One of the things Conant warned against was too rigid a tracking system. While he thought there ought to be different educational outcomes, he also thought there should be some flexibility in the courses of study. Both schools gave no evidence of much movement from one course of study to the next. Beaver Falls had three courses of study (or tracks): college, business, and, industrial arts. According to Francis McDonald, a former teacher, students were allowed to move from one track to another and it wasn't terribly difficult since there were some standard courses taken by all the students, it just didn't happen much.

The college track started with courses designated "college" (such as 'College English') in tenth grade and those classes tended to have the same students throughout. Statistics given in a hearing before the State Board of Education characterized the college track as being disproportionately made up of students from the tuition paying municipalities surrounding Beaver Falls. It was claimed that 38% of Beaver Falls students intended to pursue college while 50% of the students from surrounding areas were so inclined.

The business track was clearly perceived as a step down. This was made up primarily of two groups of students. One group, almost exclusively girls, was intending to be secretaries. There were lots of jobs in industry in the Beaver Valley for a qualified secretary. The second group was those students (mostly boys) who were in 'distributive education.' They would take many of the same courses as the girls preparing to be secretaries but not things like shorthand. During their senior year they would spend half days in retail establishments (McDonald). At one

point college classes were given "weighted" status because some teachers from the college track complained that business students were getting too many academic awards and their work was not as demanding (McDonald).

"Industrial Arts was for, well...., dummies. It was the only place some students could succeed" (McDonald). This was the recollection of a retired teacher. She went on to say that there were really good things available in the industrial arts, great things as a matter of fact, but that was not why most students ended up there. When asked if this was the track that boys would choose as preparation to work in the mills specifically or industry in general, she said, "no, those students would be in any track, this mostly was students characterized as not able to do well in school" (McDonald). Students going into the mill would typically tell this teacher (in a good-natured way), "I'll make more money in the mill than you'll ever make teaching."

Girls tended to dominate the business track while industrial arts was almost exclusively boys. African-Americans seemed evenly mixed through the three different tracks at Beaver Falls.

Following the work of Dr. William Thomas at the University of Pittsburgh, I examined yearbooks from the two schools from the early, middle and late sixties to see if those texts had a piece of the story. While it was impossible to track the success of various ethnic groups this way, it was a means of assessing the success of girls and African-Americans. (It was assumed for this summary that 50% of the students were girls and the statistics for non-white students came from surveys conducted by the State Department of Public Instruction in 1963 and 1971.) Some of the conclusions for girls would include:

1. Women were under-represented in the teaching force in high school even though teaching has traditionally been a vocational area of access for women.

-Aliquippa was around 40% women

-Beaver Falls was just below that

2. Women were dramatically under-represented in administration and on the board. Most women appeared in guidance counselor roles.
3. Girls were over-represented in the National Honor Society, which may have been a function of the make-up of the business and industrial arts tracks respectively.
4. Girls dominated the Biology Club and the Business Club, which seemed to correspond to the vocations of nursing and secretary.
5. Girls were radically under-represented in academic clubs of the Beaver Falls high school such as the Physics Club and The Slide Rule Club.

While there were many problematic areas for girls and women in the schools, the big losers were African-American children. (There may have been other ethnic or economic groups who experienced similar inequities but I was unable to analyze those groups.) Some of the conclusions for African-Americans would include:

1. There was virtually no representation in the administration or on the boards. By 1969 each board had elected one African-American, but that was it.
2. There was virtually no minority representation on the faculty.

Aliquippa: 2,3,1 in the years examined, 4% max

Beaver Falls: 3,3,4 (number inflated because the school nurse was included each year and she was African-American)

3. African-Americans were radically under-represented in the National Honor Society.
4. African-Americans were significantly under-represented in Student Council.

5. African-Americans were radically under-represented in pre-professional clubs and academic clubs. (Biology and Business, Physics and Slide Rule) [The lone exception was at Aliquippa in the HiY Club for service]

6. The only place where African-Americans were adequately or over-represented was on athletic teams

While these numbers may not come as a surprise they are none the less shocking. In Aliquippa and Beaver Falls there was only one high school. While everyone had equal access to the school it clearly worked better for those of the majority culture. It also seemed to work well at placing women in certain roles such as secretary and nurse. With little curricular reform and the role of African-Americans and women(girls) being what it was, Aliquippa high school and Beaver Falls high school seemed to reflect most of what high school was in the sixties. Students were tracked, opportunity seemed available, but girls and minorities were the losers.

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Beaver Falls (1963-71-16% Afr-Amer)	1962					1965					1969				
	TOTAL	African-American		Girls		TOTAL	African-American		Girls		TOTAL	African-American		Girls	
		#	%	#	%		#	%	#	%		#	%	#	%
Administration	5	0	0	1	20	5	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	20
School Board	15	0	0	5	33	8	0	0	0	0	7	1	14	0	0
Faculty	**68**	**3**	**4**	**23**	**34**	**71**	**3**	**4**	**24**	**34**	**83**	**4**	**5**	**32**	**39**
Homecoming Court	15	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	1	11	-	-
Commencement Awards	24	2	8	16	67	28	0	0	12	43	-	-	-	-	-
National Honor Society	**87**	**1**	**1**	**56**	**64**	**100**	**0**	**0**	**61**	**61**	**104**	**3**	**3**	**72**	**69**
Band	105	3	3	-	-	106	2	2	-	-	95	4	4	55	58
Choir	100	6	6	-	-	79	9	11	47	59	48	5	10	29	60
Student Council	55	2	4	30	55	108	3	3	45	42	99	4	4	49	50
Physics Club	35	0	0	4	11	39	0	0	4	10	74	4	5	8	11
Slide Rule Club	**58**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**25**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**50**	**4**	**8**	**4**	**8**
Biology Club (Lab 65, 69)	143	3	2	66	46	81	4	5	40	50	83	2	2	48	58
Business	174	0	0	162	93	107	6	6	99	93	93	0	0	89	96
Distributive Education Club	31	1	3	12	39	27	1	4	11	41	21	0	0	13	62
Football	**74**	**8**	**11**	**-**	**-**	**69**	**8**	**12**	**-**	**-**	**47**	**10**	**21**	**-**	**-**
Basketball	13	4	31	-	-	15	2	1	-	-	14	5	36	-	-
Track	33	7	21	-	-	48	15	31	-	-	29	4	14	-	-

Aliquippa (1963-34% Afr-Amer) (1971-42% Afr-Amer)	1961					1965					1969				
	TOTAL	African-American		Girls		TOTAL	African-American		Girls		TOTAL	African-American		Girls	
		#	%	#	%		#	%	#	%		#	%	#	%
Administration	12	0	0	5	42	6	0	0	0	0	11	1	9	2	18
School Board	12	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	15	1	7	0	0
Faculty	61	2	3	25	41	67	3	4	31	46	58	1	2	24	41
Band	108	8	7	-	-	112	10	9	42	38	109	5	5	35	32
Choir	62	10	16	42	68	65	18	28	37	57	76	14	18	36	47
National Honor Society	44	1	2	30	68	61	3	5	36	59	58	1	2	30	52
Student Council	33	7	21	27	82	49	3	6	31	63	50	4	8	38	76
Biology Club	29	1	3	20	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Science Club	55	4	7	25	45	96	16	17	42	44	109	1	1	46	42
Football	37	12	32	-	-	48	21	44	-	-	50	28	56	-	-
Basketball	23	8	35	-	-	27	10	37	-	-	24	11	46	-	-
Track	38	14	37	-	-	36	23	64	-	-	21	9	43	-	-
Hi-Y	42	16	38	-	-	29	20	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Textbooks for Confederate School Children: Pursuit of National Identify During the American Civil War

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During the Spring, 1864, Boston newspapers advertised the sale of special "curiosities" recently captured by a U. S. Navy warship, participant in the Civil War Union Blockade of the Confederacy. Some of these curiosities were school textbooks, published in England but intended for resale to families in wartime Richmond, Virginia. These books were only five of the almost 100 titles that were published for schools in the secessionist Confederate State of America during the American civil war.

After the war, all of these Confederate schoolbooks became curiosities, so considered not only by archivists who collected rare and illusive copies (e.g., Parrish and Willingham, 1984), but also by historians who mainly bypassed serious study of them. Indeed, scholars remembered the entire group of Confederate textbooks, when they recalled them at all, by several striking features in a few of them. Individual books highlighted particularly anti-Yankee sentiments and demonizations of the U.S. as well as justifications of slavery (e.g., Elson, 1964; Kennerly, 1956; Marten, 1998; Nietz, 1961). Emblematic of their general unusualness is the arithmetic problem in Lemuel Johnson's North Carolina published text: "If one Confederate soldier can kill 90 Yankees, how many Yankees can 10 Confederate soldiers kill?" (Johnson, 1864). These textbooks, largely ignored by educational historians, represent a missing and significant feature of the social history of the short-lived rebel nation. Moreover, they properly should be recognized as artifacts of rebellious Southerners' pursuit of national identify within the nascent Confederate States of America.

All too commonly, politicians and educational scholars, as well, misconceive subject matters of the school curriculum to be a universal entity. They believe, for example, that mathematics or history or music taught in the schools of different countries essentially are identical. Consequently, they recognize that the content in textbooks for the same courses in different national systems are equivalent. This general rationale and the conclusions that follow from it, however apparently reasonable, are misleading and incorrect. Significantly, textbooks and curriculum exemplify and foster in students a sense of national identity (Reid, 2000). Thus, similarities and differences of Confederate textbooks from pre-war textbooks used throughout the United States are not simply wartime curiosities that issued from a people that supported a secessionist nation. Rather, these books, their authorship, production, and distribution, as well as some of their sharply different texts represent an important aspect of Southerners' understandings about themselves and their struggling Confederacy.

To be sure, the school curriculum that these Confederate textbooks served was minimalist and mainly concerned with basic instruction in literacy and numeracy. Nevertheless, these textbooks told children, their parents and teachers, and other adults about special meanings that underlay their new nation and about what belonging to that nation meant. Thus understood, Confederate textbooks reveal dimensions of southern schools' contributions to the pursuit of national identify. This essay focuses on two dimensions of that pursuit, the textbooks themselves and the publication and marketing process of textbooks during the confederate period.

Southern Culture, Anti-Yankee Sentiment, and Confederate Identity

To be sure, Confederate reading textbooks, like those used elsewhere, taught new vocabulary and offered textual passages to help children read. Some of the textual passages in these books focused on history and philosophic principles, both contemporary and ancient. Similarly, spellers and grammar textbooks emphasized exercises in spelling new words, short readings, and grammatical construction and usage. Arithmetics were the only mathematics textbooks published; they competently dealt with basic arithmetic processes and provided exercises and word problems for students. Geography textbooks, for the most part another kind of reading book, provided maps as well as geographic of terminology and concepts; they also featured narrative descriptions of countries and cities, land forms, and products. All of these textbooks, in effect, followed the general pattern of textbooks published prior to secession, civil war, and the new Confederacy. However, they did much more. They attended to matters considered special to being citizens of the new confederate nation (e.g., Davis and Parks, 1963; Parks and Davis, 1963).

For example, explicit in a number of Confederate textbooks, regardless of subject matter, was confession of Christian or, more specifically, protestant Christian piety. The books' authors appeared not to understand the Confederacy as a theocracy. On the other hand, they asserted not only their belief but also their trust in the God of Christians who heard and responded to the prayers of the faithful. For example, author Richard D. Sterling asserted in the preface of *Our Own Second Reader* (1862), ". . .No system of education is valuable that does not have truth and piety for its foundation-stones. Our aim has been to impress upon the minds of our youthful readers the cardinal doctrines of the Christian religion." Confederate generals and political leaders, some Confederate authors held, were prayerful and devout and, consequently, they would lead the confederate nation to victory over the Yankee invaders.

Several of the books also emphasized the virtues of personal temperance and sobriety. For example, Marinda Branson Moore, one of the most prolific Confederate schoolbook authors, admonished children who studied her *Dixie Speller* never to drink "a dram". One of the book's lessons, "The Drunkard's Children," related, "The poor man
had drank until he had Delirium Tremens. This is a disease which attacks most hard drinkers. When they take it they scream and run and think the see the devil about to take them alive." Drunkenness was an evil punishable at both personal and national expense.

War, as portrayed in some of the textbooks, was an abomination under almost all circumstances. However, some Confederate textbook authors typically represented the war in which they were engaged as hostilities initiated by U.S. President Lincoln and as a conflict countenanced and supported by greedy and ignorant Northerners. As necessary as authors considered the war to be, they also recognized that war brought death of beloved and reliant sons, brothers, and fathers. Charles Smythe wrote in his *Our Own Primary Grammar*, "The brave soldier, fighting for his native land, should be held in lasting remembrance." Author Moore, in her *Dixie Speller*, noted, "Our soldiers are very brave. They have fought many hard battles to save us and our country." Confederate textbooks also recognized some of war's brutality and horror. They described men who were wounded. Some portrayed battles in which men grievously died. Some (reading books, in particular) also included stories of children whose father or brother had been killed. Some of the books reported general progress of the war (based on battles prior to the books' publication) and most encouraged children not to lose confidence in military victory. Almost most of the books reminded children of their patriotic duty to support the war, some employed only a few symbols of the Confederacy or a title proclaiming

Confederate patriotism, but ignored particularly Southern issues (e.g., Parks and Davis, 1963; Smith, 1864).

Several books claimed that secession and the war were virtuous acts, even if peace ordinarily were preferable. Integral to this argument was the claim that the United States was implacable in its hostility to guarantees enumerated in its own constitution. The most important of these principles was the rights of states to legislate on matters not expressly conveyed by the constitution to the federal government. As author Moore wrote in her *Dixie Speller*, "So the Southern States seceded, and elected Jefferson Davis for their President. This so enraged President Lincoln that he declared war, and has exhausted nearly all the strength of the nation, in a vain attempt to whip the South back into the Union. Thousands of lives have been lost, and the earth has been drenched with blood; but still Abraham is unable to conquer the 'Rebels' as he calls the South. The South only asked to be let alone and to divide the public property equally" (Parks and Davis, 1963).

The institution of slavery in the Southern states remained uncontested in Confederate textbooks. Indeed, several expressly legitimated slavery. Several books noted that not all white southerners owned slaves and their authors denied ill treatment of African slaves by their owners. One reading textbook included several lengthy biblical justifications of slavery. In the *Dixie Reader*, author Marinda Branson Moore related the mythic account of "Ned", a run-away slave who returned to his master in the South, but who left his wife and child in a northern state. When asked why he returned, Moore depicted "Ned" as saying, "Ah mas-sa, dem Yan-kee, no be good to poor nigger, can't stay wid um. Ned lib wid you all his life." Later, Moore added, "Ned says, 'He wants eb-ry nig-ger to stay at home and mind his work, and let dem Yan-kees do der own work'" (Parks and Davis, 1963). Depictions of slavery portrayed to Confederate white children what they already knew and accepted as altogether appropriate and legitimate.

Language usage and pronunciations were additional elements of textbook emphasis to Confederate school children. Proper English, according to several authors, had suffered from the indignities of American usage early popularized by Noah's Webster's dictionary and the many editions of his popular speller. Thus, several Confederate authors, especially Mobile's Adelaide DeVendel Chaudron, urged Southern children to use clear and precise enunciation of words in the manner of proper Englishmen (e.g., *The Third Reader*, 1863). As aids to this enterprise, Confederate publishers issued two dictionaries and imported another from England as a part of a failed importation scheme. Most Confederate spelling books were outright reprints or adaptations of Noah Webster's standard and long-issued speller. Nevertheless, attention to correct spelling and pronunciation of words sought both to separate southern form northern (American) usage and to make southern usage of English socially superior to that employed by northerners.

These and other emphases in Confederate textbooks fostered a clear sense of national identity. Confederate textbook authors and teachers did not expect southern children to contribute directly to their nation's winning of the war. Even if they did not fully recognize all of their intentions, they certainly sought to help Confederate children know who they were, what values and sentiments were appropriate, in what nation they lived, and what was expected of them.

Textbook Publication, Confederate Commerce, and National Identity

Production and marketing of textbooks constituted a second aspect of this Confederate pursuit of national identity. Essentially, local publication of textbooks effectively made possible the continuance of some schooling in the south during wartime. Southern schools, certainly,

were among the first cultural casualties of mobilization and warfare. Most teachers in the region were men and many abandoned their classrooms to join local companies of volunteers. Indeed, many schools across the Confederacy, once closed because of wartime conditions, never reopened. Nevertheless, substantial southern sentiment recognized that children's loss of education because of wartime conditions surely would result in a weakened citizenry and nation after the war–a war that they fully expected the Confederacy to win. Thus, local political leaders and editors encouraged women to fill teaching posts formerly held by men and sought wounded veterans to become teachers. Shortages of teachers continued to be severe throughout the war. However, many southern schools, almost all very small, remained open for varying periods of time.

The pressing shortage of textbooks during the war was a problem that no one appears to have unanticipated. Southern book dealers' stocks of books at the beginning of the war were insufficient for the need when the next terms began. The imminent textbook shortage was occasioned by two unrelated circumstances.

Creation of the Union blockade brought the problem to an immediate head. This blockade classified books, including schoolbooks–as well as bibles and tracts, as contraband, not dissimilar to armaments and munitions, and, thus, impermissible for shipment into the Confederate States. Thus cut off from the U. S. publishing centers of Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Cincinnati, southern book distributors and sellers were unable to supply textbooks to students by the end of 1861. For southern children to continue their schooling, a new source of textbooks was necessary. Consequently, conditions of wartime prompted bewildering commercial opportunity (Davis, 1964).

Slowly and always precariously, some newspaper publishers launched schoolbook-publishing initiatives. The Confederate and state governments supported none of this industrial development. It continued strictly as individual entrepreneurial enterprise mindful of public interest and, of course, anticipated profits. Most of it, additionally, reacted to a specific local need or opportunity and lacked any sense of long term planning. Over the course of the war, Southern textbook publication was concentrated in four states, North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, and Alabama, although local printers in all but two Confederate states, Florida and Arkansas, issued at least one textbook title. North Carolina, in fact, became the unexcelled producer of textbooks with 28 titles; Virginia publishers issued 20 titles. These publishing operations, for the most part, were limited to the state in which the books were printed because of the unavailability of an established distribution network and marketing operations. For example, only the Southern Methodist Publishing House in Nashville, of all Southern publishers at the beginning of the war, had an organization of local agents that could have handled Confederacy-wide distribution and sales. Its potential role as a southern textbook publisher evaporated when Nashville was captured by Union troops early in the war. Moreover, the railway system in the southern states had no east-west lines. This limitation of transport gravely affected military operations and supply, as well as it restricted civilian trade and communication. Other problems complicated the infant textbook publishing enterprises. Most prominent of these were the unsuitableness of presses mainly used for newspaper production as printing platforms for books, the unavailability of needed spare parts for broken presses, and the irregular and sharply limited supplies of ink and of paper for printing and binding. For examples, in the late year of the war, one Greensboro, NC, publisher scavenged wallpaper with which to bind his last run of textbooks and one Texas printer unsuccessfully attempted to make paper from corn shucks with which to bind his last run of textbooks. Additionally, substitutes for ink were employed on occasions until a regular supply could be obtained. All these problems notwithstanding, publishers continued to issue new and

revised titles as well as new editions of textbooks throughout the war. At least one schoolbook, in fact, saw publication in Houston, Texas, after the cessation of hostilities in Virginia, but prior to the surrender of Confederates in Texas. A number of textbook titles, moreover, enjoyed rather impressive press runs. For example, ten thousand copies each of two editions of Marinda Branson Moore's *Geographical Reader for Dixie Children* were printed in 1863 and 1864. Houston's E.H. Cushing's *New Texas Spelling Book* sold 12,000 copies in just five months and its 12,000 copy second edition was exhausted within the next six months. Cushing claimed sales of at least 54,0000 copies of this and three other of his titles during 1864 and 1865 (e.g., Davis, 1965, 1966, 1967).

The clear if somewhat ambiguous success of Confederate textbook publishing fulfilled, at least in part, pre-war hopes for the development of this industry. Southerners had protested for years against the biases, slights, and outright inaccuracies of many books published in the North. Particularly offensive, for example, were the depictions and commentaries about southern states, especially North Carolina, published by Jedediah Morse in his *American Universal Geography* (1793), the first book to receive a United States copyright. Such discontent over Northern-written and –produced textbooks promoted two auto-bellum Southern Commercial Conventions to issue calls for the establishment of a distinctly southern textbook publishing industry, all of which went unheeded during the ante-bellum period (e.g., Davis, 1964; McCardell, 1979, 177-183; 203-208). When civil war came, local printers in the Confederacy simply could not satisfy the need for school textbooks.

Again, entrepreneurial development sought to meet these intellectual and commercial needs. Two schemes to import schoolbooks into the Confederacy are known. One was a dramatic failure. The other was a striking success.

In 1863, bookseller John W. Randolph of Richmond, Va., contracted with the Rev. Kinsey John Stewart, an Episcopalian minister and serving Confederate army chaplain, to travel to London in order to have printed three books, and to ship them through the Union blockade to Richmond. Stewart resigned his chaplaincy in General Stonewall Jackson's army and, by July, with $1000 in Randolph's gold, he was at work in London. Quickly, he commissioned a special printing of the *Book of Common Prayer* as the *Confederate Prayer Book*. Among alterations of the text were modifications that included standard prayers for the Confederate States of America, its president Jefferson Davis, and its other leaders. Stewart obviously was an able steward of Publisher Randolph's money as well as an ardent agent for the purchase of school textbooks. Commissioned to secure at least two English-produced textbooks, Stewart purchased unknown quantities of at least five titles. A dictionary and a geography textbook, both in a projected "Palemetto Series", joined Franz Hahns *German Commercial Letter-Writer*, an edition of *Virgili Carminea* (in two volumes) and Leonherd Schmitz' *Grammar of the Latin Language*. Each of these volumes included a specially printed and revised title page and/or dedication page that honored CSA President Jefferson Davis. These pages were tipped in to replace pages originally printed for these English books. By early spring 1864, Stewart shipped boxes of the Prayer Book and the textbooks to Havana for subsequent transfer to a blockage runner bound for Wilmington, NC. This shipment of books never reached southern churches and schools. Before the blockade-runner was captured, its crew threw overboard some of its cargo, including some of the books consigned to Randolph in Richmond. The surviving cargo, a prize capture, was sold in Boston. Stewart, abroad another ship that successfully ran the blockade, returned to Richmond and with but three copies of the Prayer Book for bookseller Randolph (Davis, 1965).

The successful textbook importation scheme was a Texas enterprise. Brought to fruition in May 1865, after General Robert E. Lee's surrender but before Confederate troops in Texas

surrendered, this commercial enterprise brought 100,000 copies of textbooks published in the United States into Confederate Texas. Details of the enterprise remain sketchy. However, the U.S. merchant ship that carried the books docked in Matamoros, Mexico. There, the boxes of books were off-loaded and transported overland some 200 miles to Houston by oxen-puiled wagons. Several Texas textbook publishers objected vigorously to this scheme, it featured business competition between imported foreign (i.e., Yankee) produced and locally produced textbooks. Both the protests and the importation scheme were symbolic. The war in Texas soon ended and the state's schools had access to needed schoolbooks (Davis and Davis, 1967).

The Aftermath of Civil War: Schoolbooks for Southern Schools

The textbooks and textbook publication in the Confederacy constitute an illuminative case study of the pursuit of national identity through the school curriculum. As significant artifacts of curriculum during the short four years of Confederate existence, these textbooks expressed dimensions of actual and projected national identity. They remain, even today, much more than curiosities of their tortured times.

Schooling for whites in the defeated and militarily occupied Confederate States revived only very slowly. In these schools, no alternatives existed to the use of Northern produced books. Children and grandchildren of Confederate veterans, however, employed non-violent means to influence the nature of some of the books studied by Southern schoolchildren. Simply, they exercised market control of publishers by refusing to buy textbooks, particularly histories and readers, that violated their sense of who they were - Americans, to be sure, but southerners with a confederate heritage, as well. Consequently, American publishers issued different additions of some U. S. History textbooks for use in schools of southern states and in schools of all the other states. Overtime, publishers eliminated the separate editions, but, under market pressure, they maintained elements of the non-offending southern edition in their new offerings. Among such features was one example: use of "War Between the States" as the name of the 1861-65 war, rather than the Congressionally designated name "The War of the Rebellion" or the term in ordinary use, "Civil War." Such conventions only recently have disappeared from U.S. History textbooks. Narrative treatment of secession and war was compromised for more than a century in order not to offend southern purchasers and to risk loss of substantial sales. Such concerns were evident in a number of other textbooks, especially songs and lyrics (Stephen Foster's "Camptown Races") in music books, and choices of literature included in school anthologies. Recent changes in national and regional sentiments have reversed this outdated southern influence and now require, through new selection and adoption criteria, specific attention both to the multicultural nature of contemporary American society and to a more fulsome treatment of American history.

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Elma Neal, *The Open Door* Readers, and Mexican American Schooling in San Antonio, Texas

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Until recently, Texas schools offered little but neglect to children of Mexican origin, both native born and immigrants. Although officially classified as "white" by the state, they swiftly became "others" and socially marginalized within local communities. Not only did many school districts provide them neither welcome nor serious educational provision, other districts made no effort to enroll them in local schools. Even when officials permitted Mexican children to enter schools, almost all of them segregated by national origin, most were retained in grade because of their inadequacy in English, the state-mandated language of instruction (e.g., Montejano, 1987; San Miguel, 1987). A state-wide survey of Mexican American education in Texas undertaken by University of Texas professor Herschel T. Manuel in the late 1920s revealed that more than 99 percent of these "others" languished in the lower elementary grades (Manuel, 1930). Nevertheless, in a few scattered and isolated instances, individual Anglo teachers and administrators in some of the state's schools acted to engage Mexican and Mexican American children in productive educational programs.

Elma Neal was one of those few special Anglo teachers and administrators. Employed by the San Antonio Independent School District throughout her career, she not only led her district's curriculum improvement in elementary schools, she also developed instructional materials especially for and intended substantially to increase the academic achievement of Mexican American pupils. Although the San Antonio ISD was one of the few districts in the state to support such an innovative program, its efforts were mixed. For example, in his survey of San Antonio public schools, University of Chicago educator Franklin Bobbitt (1915) discovered that nearly 80 percent of that city's "Mexican" students were "overage" for their class. Commonly acknowledged for her pioneering work by her contemporaries (e.g., Manuel, 1930), Elma Neal nevertheless remains hidden in the shadows of her times, largely unrecognized for her leadership for improved education of Mexican American children.

Early as a teacher and later as director of elementary education in the public schools of San Antonio, her hometown, Neal not only recognized the problems that enveloped Mexican American pupils. She worked to change the dismal educational circumstances for these children, first in her own classroom and, subsequently, in schools throughout the city. By 1932, Neal's impressive activities had the effect of increasing educational attainment for San Antonio's "Mexican" pupils. The number of "overage" students who attended the city's schools, for example, had dropped from the almost 80 percent, reported by Bobbitt less than 20 years earlier, to between eight and eleven percent. Moreover, the upper elementary school grades were being "opened" to these students (Hanus, 1997). Likely, no other educator in the American southwest of the period could point to such "progressive results for Mexican American children and youth. State educational officials, especially, recognized her prominence. For example, members of the prestigious Texas Educational Survey Commission included her description of San Antonio's

programs for Mexican American pupils in two volumes of their final report and generally lauded efforts of that city's schools to accommodate the system's course of study to these children (Works, I, 1925, 238-241; Works, VIII, 209-211; Noonan, 1924, 497, 499, 501).

Neal's accomplishments in the increase of "Mexican" students' success may be attributed in part to her authorship with Ollie Perry Storm, her assistant for elementary schools, of the *Open Door* series of reading textbooks. To be sure, her authorship of these books constitutes a major source of her recognition as an early Anglo educator who took seriously the plight of San Antonio's Mexican pupils. Neal's general work in behalf of young children was not limited, however, to this beginning reading textbook series. Among other activities, she authored another series of reading textbooks for general use and was a nationally recognized professional leader.

Neal's Life and Professional Career

Elma Alva Neal was born on November 3, 1883, near San Antonio, Texas, the daughter of James Polk Neal and Julia Virginia Neal. Her father had settled in the San Antonio area with other Missouri Mormons, including his subsequent bride's parents, during the years just prior to the American Civil War. The extended Neal family eschewed north or "White" San Antonio and made their home southwest of the city limits, an area coterminous with the "Mexican" part of the expanding town. Thus, young Elma grew up among Mexican American children and reasonably may have been bilingual when she entered San Antonio public schools. Just as surely, her personal knowledge of Mexican American life in late nineteenth century San Antonio influenced her eventual work as a progressive teacher and administrator (Davis, in press).

San Antonio and its culture nurtured Elma Neal throughout her life-long residence in the city. Long misunderstood within Texas and elsewhere as a "Mexican" town, San Antonio was an early Spanish colonial administrative center whose population, until Texas' independence in 1836, was small and mainly of Hispanic heritage. Throughout its history, the city's "Mexican" residents have been subject to Spanish, Mexican, and American "rule". By the late 1920s, more "Mexicans" lived in San Antonio than in any other U. S. city, but, nevertheless, comprised just more than one-third of the city's population. San Antonio's public schools, in which Neal was educated and which employed her through most of her adult life, marginally were more welcoming to "Mexican" children and youth in the early 20th century than were most other Texas schools. For example, William J. Knox, a long-time San Antonio school administrator and Neal's some-time supervisor, permitted "Mexican" children at Navarro School during his principalship there to sing daily the Mexican national anthem in their native language, Spanish. However, by the xenophobic World War I years and state legislation that prohibited instruction in a language other than English, this practice died (Hanus, 1977). During Knox's years of service in San Antonio, "Mexican" pupils routinely were reprimanded or punished by teachers and principals throughout Texas when they used their home language at school. Knox's courageous practices surely must have served as exemplars for Elma Neal's subsequent work for Mexican American children.

Neal graduated from San Antonio High School, one of the state's early public secondary schools, in 1901. The next six years of her life are lost to history. Likely, she worked on the family farm and, like countless other young adult females, was "missed" by the local directory publisher when canvassers identified residents. She began to teach in the city's public elementary schools in 1907. By 1918, Neal was principal of Green Elementary School at which she presumably had been teaching since she began her service. Only two years later, the superintendent selected her to fill the post of Supervisor of Primary Grades for the entire district.

As a function of subsequent reorganizations of the district's administrative structure, her title changed to Director of Elementary Education in 1923 and to Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education in 1929, the title that she held until her retirement in 1948.

Uncharacteristically for a young Texas female teacher or administrator, Neal left the state to travel to New York City in order to complete studies for a college degree at Teachers College, Columbia University. She may have taken normal school or university courses earlier, but no records exist of earlier college attendance. Likely attending Teachers College only during summers, she earned a Diploma in Supervision in 1922, an A.B. degree in 1923, and, in 1926, an A.M. degree. With this educational background and her TC relationships, she became an early member of the Progressive Education Association and rose to become a member of its advisory board. Also, she was an early member of the National Conference on Educational Method and its subsequent reorganized groups, specifically the National Education Association's Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, to whose board she was elected. She wrote a chapter for this group's fifth yearbook, *Supervision and the Creative Teacher* (1932) and chaired the committee that planned it.

Neal's national professional visibility continued throughout her career. However, the focus of her intentions remained the advancement of educational opportunities for pupils in San Antonio schools, especially Mexican American children.

The Open Door Textbook Series: Toward Improved Education for Spanish Speaking Pupils

A considerable portion of the continuing academic success of San Antonio's "Mexican" children during the 1920s reasonably may be attributed to her authorship, with Ollie Perry Storm, the district's assistant for elementary schools, of a series of reading textbooks that intended to help these children both to learn English and to learn to read. Publication of this series may have been occasioned during the Texas Educational Survey by publishers' assurances that they would be glad to issue textbooks for Spanish-speaking children (Works, I, 1925, 241). The Open Door series included three sequential books for pupils, a Primer (1926) accompanied by a Teachers' Manual (1927), First Reader (1926), and Second Reader (1929). Certainly, the first two textbooks and the teachers' manual were reprinted several times; the publishers marketed the books throughout the American southwest. Especially, these books served as the centerpiece of a newly implemented course of study for "Mexican" students in San Antonio. They represented several years of local research and development effort led by Neal with administrative support of two successive superintendents, Dr. Jeremiah Rhodes and Marshall Johnson. Prior to their publication, teachers employed mimeographed drafts of the books with pupils at the city's Margill School. Neal staunchly supported a direct method of language instruction. Following state law, only English words, with the exception of proper names, were used in these books. Consequently, "Mexican" pupils learned to say and to read "pencil" without spoken reference by themselves or the teacher to "lapiz", its Spanish equivalent.

The format and content of these reading books mirrored, in the main, contemporary readers for English speaking pupils. Printed in two colors, black and orange, the books featured "story-type" lessons with printed text on each page and "made"-illustrations (not photographs) on most pages. The text progressed from short, simple sentences in the Primer to longer and more complex syntax in the subsequent readers. The books' vocabulary was controlled but not greatly restricted. For example, the Primer used 259 words, most of which were in the first thousand of the Thorndike word list. The First Reader added 360 new words and the Second

Reader included 637 new words, of which 111 were variants of earlier introduced words. As Neal and Storm noted, "It is probably true that the basal vocabularies of children learning English should and do vary from the vocabularies found in the usual type of readers designed for American children" (Teachers' Manual, 5).

The books' lessons were based on language the authors believed to relate to the immediate needs of the target pupils. Clearly, Neal's direct method intended that "Mexican" children think in English without the necessity of linking with the word in Spanish. Neal's program began with extensive use of oral English prior to engagement with printed forms. Moreover, although she advocated liberal use of phonics, Neal believed that children should learn the meanings of words in sentences, "their proper setting", rather than learning them in isolation. She advocated liberal use of dramatization and of objects, pictures, silent reading, and games. Also important were enunciation exercises and conversations and interesting repetitions that employed English words that pupils were learning (Teachers' Manual, 2-12).

All the stories in these reading textbooks featured young children who carried Hispanic names. Carlos, Juan, Ernesto, Maria, Jose, and Rosa were the children of the Primer. Ernesto, Elena, Uncle Pedro and Aunt Sara in the First Reader joined Carlos and Anita, his sister. With their younger sibling, known only as "Baby", Carlos' and Anita's parents were only "Father" and "Mother". Symbolically, certainly, "Miss White" was Carlos' and Ernesto's teacher at school. The Second Reader provided stories that involved Alberto and Louisa, his sister, and their mother and father, as well as Jose and Juan, Alberto's friends, and Elena, Louisa's friend. No child or adult in any of these books' stories, except for "Miss White", the teacher, carried a surname, reasonably a symbolic statement of an inferior relationship ascribed to the "Mexicans" in these books.

Powerful and explicit social messages pervaded these books. All the children and families were depicted as middle-class Americans with Hispanic names. Not only did these books' families have only two or three children, below the average size of most "Mexican" families, the books' families were nothing if not stereotypically "white" or "majority" in their depiction of the adult family roles. For example, all the fathers worked in professional jobs outside the home and the mothers stayed at home. Carlos' mother in the First Reader had a maid, Ana, who came to the home each Monday to wash and iron and clean. The families ate and played and read together; they went to (an unidentified) church together and rode home in an automobile; and, together, they observed U. S. holidays (e.g., Thanksgiving, Christmas, Armistice Day, George Washington's Birthday, Valentine's Day). Alberto in the Second Reader wanted to be a Boy Scout when he was older. The books helped the children learn patriotic observances, pledges, and songs. Stories in the Second Reader anticipated the study of community helpers in Paul Hanna's 1930s' expanding environments organization of the social studies curriculum. Moreover, the Second Reader also stressed cleanliness, thrift, safety, and courtesy. The books' illustrations continued this tacit story line. For example, some of the boys depicted in the books wore sailor suits, an unlikely choice of clothing for most of San Antonio's "Mexican" boys. All the children and adults were neatly attired in fashionable dress. Similarly, illustrations showed both mothers and bakers at work baking bread, but never tortillas. Only rarely did illustrations depict stereotypic Mexican clothing, e.g., outsized sombreros (Primer, 5, 9; Second Reader, 4). With changes of names, the stories of these "middle class" children might have occurred in any town, USA.

That the *Open Door* textbooks' children and their lives differed markedly from most of the pupils who studied these books in schools surely must have been obvious to pupils, their

parents, and their teachers. Nevertheless, "Mexican" pupils in San Antonio and those in other southwestern American school districts who used these books may have recognized a modicum of relationship between their home and the school. Simply, this racialized context appeared not to detract from, but, rather, to enhance the efficacy of teaching these "others" to read and to become Americans.

Elma Neal's Legacy

Following the modest publishing success of *The Open Door* series, Elma Neal participated in planning and writing another series of study guides. These materials enjoyed nationwide distribution. This writing enterprise, however, was a sidelight to her continuing efforts to improvement instruction for children in the San Antonio schools.

By the time of Neal's retirement in 1948, she had been a part of her district's response to the harshness of the economic depression of the 1930s, the continued growth both of the district's total pupil population and the rapid rise in the percentage of "Mexican" children attending San Antonio's schools, and the expansion of the school system prompted by the century's movement of population to cities from rural areas as well as the city's prominence as an air corps training center during World War II. She left an indelible legacy on the dialogue about improved education for Mexican Americans. This work reserves for her a place among the nation's most "progressive" social educators. The San Antonio ISD recognized a local dimension of her legacy by its action to name an elementary school in her honor at the time of her retirement. A long-time resident of 510 E. Dewey Place in San Antonio, Neal died on June 15, 1973, at age 73.

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Defense as Preparation: Houston, Texas, Schools Face the War to Come, 1939-1941

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Most Americans knew the reality of a fresh European war only through the September, 1939, newspaper headlines and radio broadcasts. Although an ocean away from the fighting, they sensed that the war's initial blitzkrieg conquests would not persist unchecked. Many also recognized an insistent dilemma. They were divided by a desire for victory by the Allied resistors to the Nazi aggression and their hopes that the United States would remain neutral. As the next months slipped by, increasing numbers of Americans recognized that mounting a variety of defense activities was necessary. The nation and its institutions, including its schools, manifest somewhat inconsistent purposes. They continued to focus on the continuity of basic programs, but they also accepted if not welcomed responses to the new world situation (e.g., Offner, 1971).

In Houston, Texas, the city's public schools only slowly realized some effects of the national preparedness movement. In the 1939-40 school year, the schools enrolled 65,000 students of whom 51,000 were classified as white and 14,000 were black (Young, 1968, 41). The system's continued responses to and initiatives in line with the changing world tensions across the next two years contributed to the preparation of students, educators, and parents for the coming war. This essay illuminates major dimensions of the Houston schools' efforts from the September 1939 beginning of the war in Europe until the December 1941 entry of the United States into World War II. It extends earlier research on American school leaders' responses to the advent of that conflict (Garrett, 1990).

Early Warnings of Wartime Stresses: Overcrowded and Inadequate Facilities

Early in this period, Houston's public school officials understood that the system's buildings were inadequate to the pressing needs for educational spaces. The development of numerous defense industries in the city served as a magnet for unemployed depression-era workers as well as others who sought the higher paying defense-related jobs. The adult workers, as they moved to Houston, brought their school-aged children with them. Enrollment of hundreds and, later, thousands, of new students in the schools created overcrowded conditions in classrooms and other facilities.

In March 1941, for example, more than 400 children were "packed like sardines" into 12 classrooms in the relatively new, five-year-old Kashmere Gardens Elementary School. Administrators converted the school's sixth grade classroom into a lunchtime cafeteria and they moved six temporary buildings onto the playground in anticipation of increased enrollment. Houston's Board of Education requested several hundred thousand dollars in federal assistance in order to meet the swiftly expanding enrollments in the city's schools. Also, as a temporary solution, Superintendent E. E. Oberholtzer proposed to parents the choice of having additional temporary buildings added to the school grounds or of selecting half-day sessions for their children (Houston Chronicle, 3 March 1941; Houston Post, 11 March 1941). Soon afterward, officials transferred all low-ninth graders from high schools to junior high school campuses (C, 15 April 1941). By the end of the school year in May, Oberholtzer requested funds for the

construction of 15-22 new classrooms at schools in close proximity to defense plants. One Board member insisted that the entire school district was a "defense area" and the Board deferred action. It chose to delay construction in hopes that the federal government would appropriate funds for the new construction projects.

Following the 1941 summer recess, some Houston classrooms enrolled as many as 65 students. The district's Board still had not heard about the availability of federal construction funds; consequently it debated additional half-day sessions and busing pupils from the most crowded schools. Enrollment never slowed; by late October, more than 3,800 new students attended Houston's schools (P, 13 May 1941; C, 13 May 1941; C, 26 October 1941).

The need for classrooms only became more severe. Even as some increased funds became available, restrictive wartime shortages of material and labor frustrated intentions to build additional facilities. Also inhibiting to the school system's efforts to house bulging class enrollments was a lack of both locally raised money and federal funds. Because the defense industries were tax-exempt, the school district collected no taxes on the new real property wealth that grew within the district's boundaries. In late October 1941, the Houston Board applied for $1,476,000 in federal impact aid based on the growth of a new shipyard, a steel mill, and an Air Corps base, Ellington Field. Officials proposed using these funds to construct new classrooms in the eastern part of the city, the area in which they believed most of the district's new pupils would live(C, 26 October 1941; C, 13 March 1941; P, 14 March 1941). In order more wisely to use Board funds, one member proposed to save $35-40,000 annually by abandoning the district's bus operations that paralleled city bus lines. Although this proposal died, the Board considered many other options to eliminate some services in order to meet financial crises in other areas.

The schools' financial squeeze had its own anomalies. For example, not only did the district suffer from inability to tax defense industries, it also sought construction and specialized equipment funds from the federal government. At the same time, it reduced its school tax rate by two cents in 1940 and by an additional two cents in the following year (P, 14 March 1941; C, 3 Aug 1941; C, 28 Oct 1941; C, 26 March 1940; P, 29 April 1941). Financial and facilities concerns grew more sharply after Pearl Harbor and the American entry into the war.

Reemphasis of Patriotism in the Houston Schools

Escalation of pressures toward war in Europe exerted early pressures on the Houston schools to reemphasize issues relating to American democracy as well as patriotic observances. Particularly visible was the work of Parent-Teacher Associations within the district. For example, throughout the 1940-41 school year, the Lamar High School PTA focused on the theme of "Training Youth for Democratic Citizenship" (P, 15 April 1941). Also, a speaker addressed the Almeda School PTA on the topic, "Helping the Child Adjust in a Changing World" (C, 9 Nov 1941), and the Taylor School PTA heard an address on "War Relief as It Touches Women in the National Defense" (C, 12 May 1941). Just a week before Pearl Harbor, Milby High School PTA members discussed how to develop strong citizens who can rebuild the world after the war (C, 1 Dec 1941). Routinely, school children sang patriotic songs at PTA meetings and banquets featured patriotic colors (P, 2 Feb 1941, 8 Feb 1941). Students at Alexander Hamilton Junior High School performed in a play, "How Democracy Is Being Taught in Our Schools" (C, 4 Dec 1941).

A local unit of the United States Flag Association fostered the regular display of the American flag in Houston's schools. It also advocated against all foreign "isms" that attempted to spread "dissension and distrust in this country". Foreshadowing the intense local crusade

following the war (Carleton, 1985), this Association's principal target was communism (Young, 1968).

In the city's pre-war high schools, Army ROTC programs maintained a patriotic presence. Enrolling more than 1,650 boys, the Houston units participated in a citywide review in the spring of 1941 in which they executed tactical problems and depicted companies under attack (C, 11 April 1941; P, 11 April 1941). During the summer of 1941, a number of the Houston cadets camped and received military training at Bastrop State Park (C, 13 June 1941).

During the 1940-41 school year, most Houston schools organized Junior Red Cross chapters. All pupils at the Harvard School became members. They constructed games for soldiers in a nearby camp and toys for English children (C, 28 Sept 1941). Students at Kinkaid school knitted afghans for Red Cross distribution (P, 9 Feb 1941).

Graduation exercises and other events prompted special patriotic observances. For example, at Jack Yates High School's last mid-term commencement, graduates observed senior night with an open forum on "What America Means to Me" (C, 28 Jan 1941). Reagan High School promoted the "Pageant of America" at which an Uncle Sam made an appearance (C, 2 June 1941). Sixth graders at Poe School gave a benefit observance and donate the proceeds to the Houston War Fund; similarly, a high school pep squad sold poppies to aid the relief of disabled World War I veterans (C, 3 March 1941; C, 28 Oct 1941).

Teachers also performed volunteer civic, patriotic services. They began to serve without pay on the city's draft advisory boards. Their service was especially needed because Houston's draft call for February 1941 was expected to take 600 men (P, 16 Jan 1941; C, 16 Jan 1941).

In the final weeks prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Major Charles R. Weeks, head of Houston's city defense department, appealed to the superintendent of schools and to the public to place increased emphasis on patriotism in the schools. One response was the observance of American Education Week in November 1941. In that observance, daily themes included "Seeking World Order", "Building Physical Fitness", "National Morale", and "Learning the Ways of Democracy" (P, 1 October 1941; C, 9 Nov 1941).

Ignition of patriotic emphases in school activities was important. Also valuable was the recognition that wartime should bring some curriculum changes.

Curriculum Changes on the Eve of Wartime

Throughout the 1930s, the Houston schools had been involved in the processes of curriculum development and change. Teachers in the system routinely were involved in the preparation of curriculum units and plans. Their work increased during the 1940-41 school year because the Houston school board adopted a six-three-three organizational system for all the city's schools. By this action, a 12th grade was added to high schools and grade six was moved from junior high schools to elementary schools. This reorganization also featured advanced courses in both academic and vocational fields (*Presenting Houston's Schools*, Nov 1941, 11). In addition, the school board lowered high school graduation requirements from 20 to 18 and, otherwise, to maintain minimum standards (C, 17 May 1941; C, 27 May 1941). However, the ability grouping that had been instituted in 1926, although vigorously debated, continued under the new organization (P, 2 Oct 1941).

A number of decisions impacted Houston's offerings to adults and others who sought specialized preparation for vocational work, especially the defense industries. In February, the Board established an Evening School for individuals who wanted to work toward a high school diploma. It authorized 65 courses in four programs of study that included general, college

preparatory, secretarial, and business training. In addition, it established courses for adults who had not attended school along with citizenship training and for defense workers specializing in areas such as machine drawing, blueprint reading, woodwork, and office machines (C, 17 Sept 1941).

Even with these actions, Houston ISD offered few courses in trades and industrial education. It sponsored a survey to determine the need for such offerings. It advanced nine recommendations, including one that school courses from elementary through high school levels adapt their emphases to students' needs for actual living and another that every student should be offered the opportunity "to learn some useful work with their hands" (C, 15 April 1941; *They Need your Guidance*, 1941).

Earlier, in 1940, Houston operated National Defense training for men who sought jobs in the Texas Gulf Coast area. Federal funds paid for equipment and teacher salaries. Daily classes ran on a 24-hour-cycle and graduates swiftly were inducted into industry (*Presenting Houston Schools*, 1941, 12).

The district implemented several other notable curricular innovations. For example, the Board added Spanish to the curriculum of the city's black high schools. Previously, they had offered only Latin (Young, 1968). During periods of the summers of 1940 and 1941, the Board sponsored four-hour daily "vacation schools" for first through sixth graders. Activities included swimming, games, folk dancing, and remedial study in reading, spelling, and arithmetic (C, 11 July 1941). The Board also inaugurated parent classes in 1941 under the direction of the district's homemaking department. During that fall term, all classes addressed the topic, "Organizing Our Homes for National Defense" (P, 14 Sept 1941).

During 1941, Houston's school board decided to require all candidates for teaching positions to present a score from the National Teachers Examination (C, 11 Feb 1941). That action only anticipated its discussions of the more relevant and pressing teacher shortage that loomed. For example, the Board faced requests from teachers who wished to take a position as hostess at an army camp and several married teachers wished to accompany their husbands who had taken jobs in other cities. Their requests for leaves of absence were denied (C, 12 August 1941). Within months, however, the Board was confronted with an increasing teacher shortage. The relationship of teachers to the school curriculum was intimate; unless even temporary solutions to the shortage of teachers were found, the schools could not continue to operate.

The Coming of War and Houston's Schools

Houston's schools reacted calmly to American entry into World War II. Many of the city's students and teachers listened to President Roosevelt's war message in stilled classrooms on Monday, December 8. However, for the most part, school schedules and routine continued largely undisturbed for a number of weeks. Only later did people notice the intense advocacy for participation in war-related school activities. Then, Houston schools responded with enthusiasm.

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William Guardia: Who Does So Much for So Many

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This paper tells the story of a dedicated educator who had one exceptional year with the National Education Association, and an entire career making a difference by inspiring and motivating others, affecting positive change in curriculum and instruction, and celebrating learning. Even without a clear definition of significance, I discovered William Guardia's career in education was definitely remarkable.

William Guardia seemed to always know what he wanted to do with his life. "I want to be a teacher and be in charge," he told his junior high school principal (Guardia 2000). Although Guardia never had a doubt about his choice of profession, even he could not have imagined the breadth, importance, and diversity of his contribution. His contribution to his beloved San Antonio Independent School District, as well as the curriculum field, has been impressive yet somewhat overlooked.

William Guardia was born April 10, 1929 in the Texas border town of Eagle Pass. He was the last of three children born to Tomas Guardia and Olivia De La Garza. His heritage is Mexican, yet both of his parents were also born in the United States. Tomas, born in the border town of Del Rio, Texas was a mechanic, and was so trusted by the Mexican population that he had just enough work to carry him through the Depression. He was often paid with food, mostly fruits and vegetables. Olivia, born in Laredo, Texas, was a stay-at-home mother, nurturing, charitable, and on many occasions distributed the fruits and vegetables that Tomas brought home to their less-fortunate neighbors.

The Guardia's little house on Pierce Street in Eagle Pass seemed to always be the center of activity in the neighborhood because it was the only house to have running water, albeit only a faucet on the outside of the house. The Guardias allowed their neighbors to come and fill their containers with water at anytime. Tomas and Olivia not only felt this was the least they could do, they also believed this was the right thing to do. Both of William's parents were high school graduates, a rarity for Hispanics at the time in Texas, clearly placing them in a middle-class standing. Education was held in high esteem in the Guardia family, and the children were taught the values of hard work, industriousness, and learning, as necessary traits for a happy and successful life. The family, as well as the Catholic Church, also reinforced kindness and helping others.

Guardia's maternal grandmother lived only sixty-eight miles across the Rio Grande and Mexican border, and the grandchildren spent at least one weekend a month and every summer on her large hacienda. His grandmother further instilled the importance of hard work and an education. Each child had their own small garden plot that had to be tended, and she paid an older lady every summer to teach school on the property. By the time "Willie" as he was called by everyone, entered the first grade, he could speak and read in both English and Spanish, and considered quite a precocious child.

The Guardia family moved to San Antonio in 1941, during Willie's fifth grade. The family settled into their new home located in a prosperous middle/upper-middle class area located in west downtown San Antonio. Willie was expected to register at Collins Garden Elementary School for sixth grade. However, when Willie's mother told him to go register himself at school, he followed his sister to Harris Junior High School instead.

From Harris Junior High, Hispanic students were expected to continue at Lanier High School, which provided no college preparatory classes. Before Lanier opened in 1923, there was no vocational training for the Hispanic population, and many students dropped out of school to work in low-paying jobs in order to help support their families. Interestingly, the San Antonio Independent School District allowed open registration and was never officially segregated for Hispanics. However, de facto segregation through neighborhood schools was the norm. At Lanier High School, the 99% Hispanic enrollment was "strongly advised" to take the vocational track if they chose to remain in school, however, they could actually enroll in any high school in the city. Willie wanted to attend Jefferson High School, the premier high school in San Antonio at the time. Despite the fact that Jefferson High School was on the north side of town, considered elite, Anglo, and approximately 40% Jewish, never occurred to Willie to be an obstacle (Hanus 2000).

Whatever the social climate at Jefferson High School during this period of time, Guardia was an active participant in school activities and academically successful. He was smart, well-liked, played clarinet in the band, and wrote for the school newspaper, The Declaration. In addition to a full schedule in school, Willie also worked part-time after school as a "soda jerk" for Walters Pharmacy.

Guardia enrolled at St. Mary's College in San Antonio after graduation from high school. As part of the curriculum, he participated in the Army ROTC program for three years. He did not complete the required four years in ROTC when he realized he did not want to continue that particular path. Instead, he and several of his college friends decided to enlist in the Navy.

William Guardia's time in the Navy began as the Korean Conflict was winding down, so he was trained as a hospital corpsman in Bainbridge, Maryland, an assignment he requested. Always eager to see new and historic places, Guardia would hitchhike to either New York City to see plays on Broadway or Washington, D.C. to sightsee. Willie finished his final year in the Navy in Korea as more or less a "medical missionary. He also achieved a personal goal in the Navy that had alluded him: he learned to drive and obtained a driver's license. After his discharge from the Navy, Guardia returned to San Antonio to finish his final year at St. Mary's College, and graduated in 1956 with a Bachelor's degree in social studies education.

A Career Begins

William Guardia's first teaching position after graduating St. Mary's College was in social studies at Rhodes Junior High in the San Antonio Independent School District (SAISD). Guardia taught social studies at Rhodes Junior High from 1956-1963. He had a strong belief in the value of teaching core curriculum and connecting subject content to the other core classes. In addition to his teaching duties, he assisted and advised the student government. In his second year of teaching, he was chosen to represent his school as a delegate to the Texas Teacher's Association Convention.

During Guardia's tenure at Rhodes Junior High School, he continued his education by working on a Master's degree in history at Southwest Texas University. Willie chose as his thesis subject the history of the San Antonio Independent School District, and was very close to completion when he suffered a setback – as well as a wonderful opportunity.

Guardia had applied for a Fulbright Scholarship in late 1963 to spend the summer of 1964 studying at the University of Tehran in Iran. The timing of the application was bad. The Texas Fulbright Committee was very frank and told him not to get his hopes high, specifically because of the assassination of President Kennedy in Dallas just a month earlier. But much to

Willie's surprise, he was awarded the Fulbright Scholarship and earned twelve hours credit from the University of Tehran the summer of 1964. His studies included Islamic religion and Iranian and Middle East economics and literature.

The setback occurred when Guardia returned home. Southwest Texas University would not honor the twelve hours credit from the University of Tehran toward his Master's degree. However, true to form, Guardia was undeterred. He transferred to Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, who not only accepted his credit hours from Southwest Texas University, but also the hours from the University of Iran. With this move, Guardia also changed his major from history to counseling. This change made sense and proved to be extremely beneficial in the long run. Guardia had been transferred to Louis Fox Technical and Vocational High School in 1963 to teach social studies and counsel students.

Guardia's tenure at Fox Tech (1963-1970) could be best described as seven years filled with personal and professional growth and development, numerous challenges, travel, and opportunities to become an active participant in significant educational policy of the day. After the completion of his first year of teaching social studies at Fox Tech, he spent the summer in Iran on Fulbright Scholarship. Upon his return, he immediately began working on a personal project "130 Lesson Plans for Teaching Social Studies to the Slow Learner". This project developed from Guardia's work with predominantly Hispanic students who were struggling with the academic curriculum. He found no texts or curriculum addressing the situation, so he wrote one. SAISD, impressed with the lesson plans Guardia had written, printed them in-house and provided copies to all social studies teachers throughout the district (Hanus 2000).

Subsequently, the printing of the lesson plans also indirectly led to Guardia's one year absence from San Antonio in 1966-1967. The National Education Association (NEA) contacted Steve Cataloni, President of the San Antonio Teachers Council, requesting a reference to fill the position of Assistant Secretary for Field Studies at the main office in Washington, D.C. Bilingual education was blossoming during this period, thus a Hispanic educator was of particular interest for the open position since NEA had plans to address this issue in depth. Mr. Cataloni gave them Guardia's name. NEA contacted Guardia concerning the position and he flew to Washington for an interview. Much to his surprise, he was hired immediately.

NEA 1966-1967

This one-year at NEA proved to be the busiest, and possibly the most pivotal in Guardia's young career; pivotal in the sense that the NEA position placed him in an active and influential role in the bilingual education movement and legislation. His assignments at NEA required tremendous energy, creativity, and responsibility, traits that became synonymous with Guardia's name and reputation. When Willie's plane landed in Washington, D.C. that September, he hit the ground running.

Guardia's first assignment with NEA was to help coordinate the Third Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education, held in Tucson, Arizona at the end of October, 1966. The participating states were Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. The conference topic "The Spanish-Speaking Child in the Schools of the Southwest" focused on positive efforts to solve the problems of Spanish-speaking children, and ultimately provided the catalyst for legislation supporting bilingual and English as a second language (ESL) programs. Two of the conference speakers, Senator Yarborough of Texas and Senator Montoya from California, sponsored bill S-428, known as the Bilingual American Education Act, as well as bill S-429, known as the Southwestern Human Development Act (NEA 1966-67).

Senator Yarborough was so impressed by the NEA conference, he requested his aide to meet with Guardia back in Washington, D.C. When the aide called Guardia to request a meeting at Yarborough's office, Guardia insisted the first meeting be held at the NEA offices as a matter of proper protocol and to showcase NEA's dedication to the bilingual cause. Yarborough called Guardia several times concerning the wording of the proposed bill, thus using language from the conference and his discussions with Guardia to draft the historic education bill.

A flurry of work and activities preceded the passing of bill S-428, including congressional hearings. Guardia contacted learned educators and bilingual proponents to testify at the hearings, made all the necessary arrangements, and attended the hearings. He was later invited to a White House reception given upon passage of the bill, personally meeting President Lyndon Johnson. These were heady times for the young teacher from San Antonio.

Guardia's next assignment was again helping to coordinate the Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education in Washington, D.C. in February of 1967 (NEA 1967-68). The conference title "Treatment of Minorities in Textbooks" was of personal interest to Willie, and he actually designed the program cover. He introduced the conferees and was cited in the conference handbook as devoting major time in the numerous workshops.

He attended as many workshops as possible in order to obtain the most pertinent information, as well as contribute to the task at hand: convincing textbook publishers to not only look at how minorities were treated in textbooks, but were minorities even mentioned. The focus of the conference was one that Guardia's personal experience and expertise could effectively address. His main concern was for publishers to listen, understand, and change certain content of their textbooks.

In the spring of 1967 the State Department was in immediate need of a Hispanic educator with FBI clearance for a twenty-one day tour of ten Latin American countries. NEA was contacted to supply a possible participant. Willie met all requirements. The tour was as much a fact-finding mission on effective curriculum/methods used in the countries, as a goodwill mission to offer help and suggestions for improving each country's education programs.

At that particular time, human rights were being violated and political conditions were extremely tense in some of these very countries, but Guardia was not allowed to comment on such things when interviewed by Latin American newspapers or embassy personnel. Guardia was briefed by the State Department before and after the trip, but not allowed to keep notes, make a report, or even discuss with others all he had observed. One can only speculate if there was more to this tour than Guardia was told, or is telling, considering the fact that the he was escorted by armed military in some of the countries. Nonetheless, the trip was another broadening experience that Guardia added to a professionally fulfilling year at NEA.

Back to San Antonio

However, the year with NEA left Guardia exhausted and terribly homesick. Not long after returning to the United States from the Latin American trip, he left NEA and returned to San Antonio, Fox Tech, and continuing his education. He earned his Master's degree in counseling from Our Lady of the Lake University in 1969, as well as completed the work necessary to obtain a Superintendent's Certificate. Willie finished his last year at Fox Tech as both social studies teacher and guidance counselor.

Guardia had become known throughout the district for using sensitivity training with groups of students, a skill he had learned at NEA. SAISD powers-that-be heard about the sessions and sent someone to observe a session. The district was impressed by Guardia's

sessions and asked him to set up sensitivity training sessions for all principals in the district. Guardia set up a training schedule, including four principals at a time (Hanus 2000). The importance of this situation should be noted: these were white middle-class principals being instructed in sensitivity training by a Hispanic teacher/counselor of a predominantly Hispanic vocational high school. This was quite a remarkable situation for San Antonio in 1970, and reflects not only the high esteem in which Guardia was held, but also the first attempts of the school system to openly address racial issues and pluralism. SAISD student population has always been 50%-50% Anglo-Hispanic and coming to terms with this fact was long overdue.

When offered a supervisory position at the district office in 1971, Guardia left his teaching and counselor's position at Fox Tech. He wasn't the first Hispanic in such a position at the district office, but was certainly one of the first. Guardia spent eight years at the district office supervising both the primary and secondary social studies curriculum. He wrote curriculum, as well as developed and demonstrated social studies activities for teachers and students, and he set an ambitious schedule for himself: visiting one high school, two middle schools, and five elementary schools weekly.

Guardia's reputation and expertise were also enhanced during this period by holding professional advisory positions outside the district. He served a one-year term on the Texas Textbook Committee in 1971, his first year at the district office (Davis 2000). Guardia served with integrity and honesty, refusing gifts and perks from textbook companies. He publicly criticized one particular company regarding content on minorities, and the company not only corrected the content, but also offered Guardia a job years later. Willie also served for seven years on the editorial advisory board for Scholastic magazine from 1971 through 1978. He served on the board of World Week Magazine, and was curriculum consultant for the Scholastic World History Program Series and the McGraw-Hill textbook The Texans by Allan Kownslar (1978).

Guardia left the district office after eight years to become an elementary school principal. He had been asked numerous times to accept a principal position in the district, and when he finally accepted, the move proved to be yet another turning point in his career. His leadership abilities, empowerment philosophy, creativity, unyielding enthusiasm and dedication to the education and heritage of children, changed one school's student body and faculty beyond anyone's expectations.

"Be sure to check out Ogden Elementary School. Willie is a legend there," (Hanus 2000).

Ogden Elementary, with six hundred fifty students and thirty teachers, was having difficulties in the 1970's. Teacher morale, student achievement, and pride were low, and parent cooperation and participation were almost nonexistent. William Guardia was offered the principal's position to specifically solve these serious problems.

Guardia took the reins at Ogden Elementary School in the fall of 1978, and held that position for ten years. In fact, by the end of his tenure in 1988, he had become somewhat of a legend at Ogden Elementary, just as Charles Hanus stated. The many special programs he developed and implemented, as well as his belief in empowering his teachers and students, lifted spirits, participation, and performance of Ogden's students, teachers, and parents. Guardia's natural leadership abilities and personal involvement fostered growth and success.

Programs that Guardia developed and implemented at Ogden Elementary included the Ogden Bank, the Ogden Press, Ogden Gardens, Ogden Olympics, and the Guardian Angle. The goal and purpose of all of these programs in Guardia's mind was to nurture the children, teach

self-reliance, responsibility and citizenship, and provide as many opportunities as possible for the children to experience success and instill pride. These programs were not just busy work! A brief description of several of these programs provides insight as to how Guardia thinks schools should work, as well as how they should be led.

The Ogden Bank, largest of the programs implemented, was developed as a way for Ogden Elementary School to participate in the Free Enterprise Project sponsored by the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce, as well as the Learning About Learning Program (SAISD 1983). The bank was based on a "token economy". The foundation of the program was the token, which was worth a penny, and earned by the student for each day in attendance. Perfect attendance during a six-week period earned 100% interest. Additional tokens could also be earned for exceptional work in the classroom, exemplary behavior, or special effort to help others.

At the end of the year, students withdrew the tokens they had earned from their bank accounts to spend at the Free Enterprise Flea Market. Each homeroom was responsible for a booth at the flea market, and each determined from school-wide surveys the kinds of items that other students would buy. The homerooms would then manufacture the item, develop an advertising campaign, and design and operate their booth at the flea market. The student body elected a president, board members, and tellers, who kept transaction records on all students.

The Ogden Press was inspired by one of Guardia's second grade teachers, Carlos Gonzalez. His class had written and illustrated a book named The Butterfly and the Cowboy for a class project. Gonzalez gave the completed project to Guardia, expecting only feedback and constructive criticism. Guardia was so impressed with the idea of writing a book as a class project, that he took the book to the district printing office that very day and had it "published". This was the first book published by the Ogden Press, and was sold for $1.50 at the next PTA meeting. All classes were then encouraged to publish their own book–and they couldn't wait to do so! One kindergarten class published a book of their paintings of bluebonnets in Ogden Garden and sold them in their booth at the flea market.

Ogden Garden was an inspiration from Guardia's grandmother, and his summers spent on her hacienda. Parents and local merchants donated seed for such crops as bluebonnets, cotton, corn, and pumpkins. Students were entirely responsible for the ground preparation, planting, care, and harvesting. Student's work schedules had to be organized, including all grades in a segment of work they were capable of performing. The pumpkins were used as decoration in the school cafeteria at Halloween, the corn was donated to the needy, and the cotton was put on display for the school and visitors to enjoy.

Guardia suggested the Ogden Olympics as a way to use the Olympic Games to highlight social studies and geography. Each homeroom chose a country to study, and represent in a school-wide parade. Costumes and information posters and maps were made, involving the parents. The final activity was the "Olympic" parade before parents, neighbors, and school officials.

How Guardia empowered his teachers by including them in the decision-making of the education process is of particular interest, because it reflects the man and his philosophy of education and leadership. Guardia had definite beliefs on how to manage his elementary school, and his style was open, creative, and nurturing. He proudly admits that his office door was closed only twice in ten years. Students, teachers, and parents were always welcome. His first goal was to know the names of every student in his school within two weeks. His second goal was to empower his teachers by including them in decision-making, having daily "mini-staff

development", and providing a positive environment that encouraged the sharing of ideas and opinions, as well as an active role in problem solving.

Guardia only had principal's meetings three times a year: the first week of school, after Christmas break, and the last week of the school year. However, he devised a way for teachers in the core curriculum to meet daily to discuss course topics, student problems, or plan related class activities. He designed the schedule to have three overlapping lunch periods so the teachers could sit together and meet daily. He supervised the children personally through all three-lunch periods, stopping to talk with the group of teachers if necessary. Guardia believed the more that a principal was in his office, the more he isolated himself from the activities and workings of the school. Needless to say, he spent little time in his office.

One suggestion drawn from these teacher lunchroom meetings was a solution to the physical education problem. The teachers were responsible for the physical education instruction of their own class. None of the teachers was particularly comfortable with this arrangement. However, one of the teachers was a certified physical education teacher and coach. The plan presented to Guardia suggested that each teacher take one or two of the coach's students permanently, freeing him to teach only physical education full-time to all of the classes. Guardia accepted the teachers' solution and enacted the class and schedule changes.

William Guardia managed his school with one over-arching principle: students first. He initiated any idea or activity that enriched the lives of his students. He considered pride in Mexican heritage essential to the self-esteem and success of his Hispanic students, and he used his many contacts to accomplish this goal. Whether entering students' paintings of San Antonio in an exhibit in Mexico City, or bringing a famous mariachi group from Mexico to perform for the school, or chauffeuring the school's square dancing group, the "Cotton-Eyed Kids" to performances, Guardia worked tirelessly for one purpose–the children. He inspired the same enthusiasm and devotion in others, possibly the most important trait in leadership.

Retirement

Guardia informed the San Antonio Independent School District in April of 1989 of his plans to retire at the end of that year. Rather than retire from Ogden Elementary in the middle of the academic year, he left his principal position in June of 1989. The remainder of the calendar year was spent at four different schools, trouble-shooting for the district. However, Willie did not withdraw from academic activity, nor terminate assistance to his beloved San Antonio Independent School District upon retirement. He transformed his life-long habit of picture-taking into a way to publicize SAISD events. Since retirement, Guardia has volunteered several days a week as photographer and public relations representative for the district that had not only educated him, but also employed him for thirty-three years.

Guardia also continues to write during retirement. In 1994, GoodYearBooks published Helping Your Child with Maps and Globes by Bruce Frazee and William Guardia. The workbook for K-3 is organized by level with concepts, objectives, and needed materials highlighted for each lesson. Guardia has written and illustrated a children's book that fosters creative and right-brain thinking, which is presently in negotiations with a publisher. Retirement has also given Willie the time for a second passion: antiques. He can be found most weekends manning a booth at an exposition, county fair, or antiques show somewhere in Texas. Several times a year he also ventures to out-of-state events.

Has passage of time clouded the collective memory of William Guardia's contributions? Possibly. Yet, anyone who ever worked with Guardia has not forgotten his enthusiasm and

dedication to the children in SAISD. Consequently, his legendary status at Ogden Elementary School may very well have overshadowed his efforts in ESL, bilingual education, and treatment of minorities in textbooks in the eyes of San Antonio.

Some might say that Guardia was a man ahead of his time, or that happenstance was, in part, responsible for such an amazing, diverse, and respected career. The truth may actually be the combination of such speculation. Yet, one reflection is certainly true: William Guardia was an educator of selfless action, vision, enthusiasm, and single-minded dedication to children and education in San Antonio. He also contributed to bilingual education legislation and fought for change in the treatment of minorities in textbooks, both definitely significant in the history of education in the United States. However, Guardia's total career in education, as well as his integrity, character, and benevolence, is just as significant, if for no other reason than it was the right thing to do.

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'The Medium is the Message': Lloyd Reynolds and The Origins of Italic Handwriting in Oregon Schools

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In October 1998, the Portland (Oregon) school board voted to reject a seemingly routine recommendation by new superintendent Ben Canada that D'Nealian script replace Italic as the district's handwriting model. Handwriting, Canada abruptly learned, was a controversial issue in Portland Public Schools, the state's largest system. The district, following the lead of several other large Oregon systems, had adopted Italic script in 1983; with this status threatened in 1998, an ardent core of Italic supporters flooded the central office with letters and e-mails. "When I accepted this job, I had no idea that handwriting was of this magnitude," Canada commented to a reporter from The Oregonian newspaper after the school board vote. "Only one other time in my career have I received as much mail on an issue, and that had to do with prayer in schools." Why had Italic handwriting-a script based on traditional Renaissance models, but practiced by few in the U.S.-taken root in Portland and several other Oregon communities? And more generally, why had handwriting, which many consider a minor and increasingly irrelevant part of the curriculum, assumed such importance for Portlanders? This paper will examine the origins of the Italic handwriting movement in Oregon, crediting its growth largely to the efforts of one individual, Lloyd Reynolds. Reynolds' promotion of Italic and its eventual appeal, we will argue, can best be understood within the context of his broader ideological agenda, a belief system that aimed toward the reconstruction of American schools and society.

Italic Handwriting: A Brief History

The Italic handwriting taught in some Oregon schools has its roots in the Italian Renaissance (Anderson 1969; Fairbank 1968). Seeking a classical alternative to medieval scripts, a number of influential fourteenth-century humanists revived eighth-century Carolingian letter forms that they mistakenly attributed to ancient Rome. These forms were modified for economy, speed, and legibility over the next two centuries, resulting in a distinctive hand that gained popularity as a manuscript book hand, as a model for machine-printed letters forms, and as a personal cursive script characterized by gently-slanting oval shapes, an absence of loops, and joins between most but not all letters. Adopted by the papal chancery for the writing of briefs, it began to spread throughout Europe, including England, where it was embraced by the Tudor court and coined Italic after its place of origin.

During the seventeenth-century, English writing masters advertised their virtuosity with new, more decorative letter forms, freed by technological innovations that allowed them to reproduce their copybooks using copperplate rather than wood block engravings. Italic and other Renaissance forms fell out of use, replaced by the popular English roundhand and in the United States, Spencerian and Palmerian scripts. Interest in Italic letter forms resurfaced with the British Arts and Crafts movement, a late-nineteenth–and early–twentieth century effort to revive traditional handicrafts. William Morris, the movement's most influential founder, promoted calligraphy and manuscript books as an alternative to mechanical printing and endorsed sixteenth-century Italic and other early scripts. A generation later, Edward Johnston, a calligraphy instructor at London's Central School of Arts and Crafts, traced the historical

evolution of letter forms, arguing for Italic as the last script influenced by the natural processes of hand-eye interactions rather than mechanization (Johnston 1995). Johnston was most interested in formal calligraphy and book arts, but several of his followers, most notably Alfred Fairbank, developed italic-based letter forms and curriculum materials for handwriting instruction in the schools. Fairbank's promotional efforts-he co-founded the Society for Italic Handwriting in 1952-generated considerable interest in Italic handwriting in England during the 1950's and 1960's, and numerous schools began to teach the hand. Italic instruction also made some inroads internationally, although in the U.S., it spread to only a few detached locations (Fairbank 1968).

Lloyd Reynolds and Italic Handwriting

The spread of the Italic handwriting movement to Oregon can be traced directly to the career and teaching of Lloyd Reynolds, a professor for over 40 years at Reed College in Portland. Reynolds followed a circuitous career path-a forestry degree from Oregon State University, a brief stint in advertising, graduate work in literature at the University of Oregon, and high school English teaching-before settling at Reed in 1929 (Gunderson and Lehman 1989; Cusick 1979; Chitick 1979). Hired to teach introductory literature and upper division creative writing, he soon added eighteenth-century literature and art history to his repertoire. He also began teaching informal classes in calligraphy. Reynolds had been curious about letter forms and book arts from an early age, and by the time he arrived at Reed, he was an enthusiastic, largely self-taught calligrapher. Inspired by his 1934 discovery of Edward Johnston's Writing & Illuminating & Lettering, Reynolds studied historical letter forms, including Italic, and practiced his skills intensely during the 1930's and 1940's. Gradually, he shared his skills and ideas in informal, extra-curricular classes and in 1949, his course in alphabetic communication was added to the Reed curriculum. Additional classes in calligraphy, typography, and book making at Reed and at the Portland Art Museum soon followed.

Over the next three decades, Reynolds nurtured contacts with other calligraphers, including Alfred Fairbank, and he enthusiastically joined their efforts to bring Italic handwriting to the schools. He founded a western branch of the Society for Italic Handwriting and began aggressively courting members, especially schoolteachers. I went after them," Reynolds recalled in a 1976 interview, offering countless Italic handwriting classes and workshops for educators and inspiring hundreds to the Italic cause (1979, 52). Incredibly, at one point, the western branch of the Society for Italic Handwriting enrolled over half of the organization's international membership. After his retirement from Reed in 1970 and until his death in 1978, Reynolds directed his attention almost exclusively to promoting Italic in the schools, visiting classrooms, giving lectures, and lobbying Oregon educational leaders to adopt an Italic handwriting curriculum.

Reynolds' Ideology

Reynolds was by all accounts a brilliant teacher. The key to his success, he maintained, was a willingness to profess his passions in the classroom. In a letter to a friend considering a teaching career, he urged an 'advocacy' model:

Rely on your deepest feelings! Whatever you sincerely feel, out with it. Students can recognize a phony a mile off–but they'll respect simple honest points of view. They have had their fill of cold-blooded academism and professional posturings. They are starved for some association with an unaffected human being in the classroom (1979, 75).

Teaching is primarily about beliefs, Reynolds maintained, even when teaching 'techniques' such as calligraphy and handwriting. He attended to the requisite knowledge and skills of course, but the communication of an ideology–"some sort of 'system' of ideas, beliefs, fundamental commitments or values about social reality" (Apple 1979, 20)-was the overriding aim in his classroom and in his published essays, most of which were gathered in the posthumous collection Straight Impressions (Reynolds, 1979).

Central to Reynolds' ideological framework was his rejection of the traditional western division between the intellectual, the emotional, and the material, or, stated more positively, his deep belief in the unity of all reality. During the last months of his life, Reynolds wrote "The Decline of Materialism" in response to a friend's request for a culminating essay on handwriting education (1978). Strangely, the tract begins not with a discussion of the pen, but with an attack on the quantitative approach favored by social scientists. These methods, Reynolds argued, exemplify a misguided materialist metaphysics that, in the end, collapses into unrestrained consumerism. Human existence, he insisted, includes much more than physical sensations; it is 'religious' in that it embraces both the material and the immeasurable, not merely as coexisting elements but as inseparable parts of the whole.

Reynolds anticipated this unified conception of reality in his 1968 comments on student protests at Reed (1979. He lambasted both the authorities who exalted reason and tradition and the students who, from his perspective, disdained rational analysis in favor of empathy and intuition. Authentic progress, Reynolds insisted, requires integrated thinking.

> . . . our culture will surely sink into the tar pits to join the brontosaurus unless we learn to develop all kinds of sensory perception and all kinds of mental activity. . . We must stop specializing in either a narrow critical, analytical rationalism at one extreme or an undifferentiated psychedelic swoon at the other extreme. We must be both rational and intellectual, both analytical and imaginative, utilizing both statistics and insight (62).

Humans must avoid the sway of rational materialism, according to Reynolds. Nor should they attempt to become shamans; "The extremes are direct paths to oblivion. . . . We must learn to count up to one; all other numbers are fractions"(63). Four years later, in a Reed campus address, Reynolds blasted the western arts tradition for severing the manual from the intellectual. "Reality is a continuum," he trumpeted, not a hierarchy where the artist opposes the intellectual, the craftsman the antithesis of the educated gentleman (1979, 22). Concerned that his Reed students had been victimized by this "classical heresy," he pointed them to India, Japan, Islamic society "at its greatest" and the European Middle Ages-alternatives he considered "closer to the continuum." These cultures, where academic study was "woven and interwoven endlessly into the fabric of [the artist's] workshop," represent the "true orthodoxy" (22, 23).

Reynolds' holistic vision certainly evokes the campus counter-culture of the 1960's and early 1970's, but his beliefs have much deeper roots. As a young graduate student in the late 1920's, the University of Oregon's fine collection of Oriental art exposed him to non-western perspectives, opening what he later referred to as "the real eyes, the inner eye, the third eye, the one just above the forehead" (Gunderson and Lehman 1989, 2). Over the years, he frequently turned to Asian artists and arts to express his integrated conception of reality (1979). In a 1957 letter, for example, he used Chiang Yee's dictum that "no one can become a good calligrapher who doesn't develop his personality" to illustrate his conviction that a good craftsman fuses caring and knowledge (76). In a later essay on handwriting, he recommended the works of sixth-century painter and critic Hsieh Ho on the links between touch and spirit. Reynolds also read

Japanese haiku as a graduate student, and "was taken by their brevity, objectivity, imagery from nature, dry humor, and association with calligraphy" (67). He later invented the "Weathergram," a haiku-like poem of ten words or less, written on a small strip of paper, and "hung to a bough or branch in the garden, at a campsite, or along a mountain trail" to blend the physical world with abstract thought and feeling (67).

Reynolds also credited the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Romantics, particularly William Blake, as sources of his world view. Blake's "outrage toward the world of men" certainly matched the calligrapher's sense of justice. In his 1968 essay "Grow It," he praised the poet's protests against slavery, child labor, racism, war, and business chicanery (1979). Likening his hero to an Old Testament prophet, he urged the late 1960's 'Establishment' to learn from Blake's insight that youthful energy is not diabolical; instead it can invigorate calcified and inequitable traditions. But it was Blake's metaphysical implications that most resonated with the calligrapher. In his broadside "Homage to William Blake," Reynolds highlighted ten excerpts from the poet's work, forming what he privately admitted was a lyric autobiography (1988). Many of the selections intimate journeys, intellectual or otherwise, to heaven, hell, infinity, peace and other 'destinations' ; most prominent among these, written in the largest, boldest script and forming a header for the poster, was a an ode to nature:

> To see a world in a grain of sand
> And a heaven in a wild flower
> Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
> And eternity in an hour.

It is only through the natural world that humans can grasp infinity and eternity, Blake asserted. But the path is not the narrow one of intellectual examination and analysis; it involves the whole human: seeing, touching, contemplating, and appreciating.

To Reynolds, the common interpretation of Blake-as an anti-intellectual who pitting nature, feeling, and experiences against the reason and print culture of the Enlightenment-was misguided. In a 1968 essay, he challenged Marshall McLuhan's contention that "today Blake would be violently anti-Blake," i.e., he would reverse his attack on the Enlightenment because its positions had become dominant (Reynolds 1979, 44; McLuhan 1962). Reynolds agreed that Blake would not be fighting a battle against reason and the printed book as he had in his day; he would be more likely denouncing the modern overemphasis on the electronic. But Blake, he insisted, had never been unequivocally opposed to the book or the rationalistic Enlightenment world view that it represented. He strove for symmetry, something that he thought had been lost in 'the age of reason' and would most likely perceive as absent in our world today. "Blake was not merely anti-rational," Reynolds wrote, he clamored for "balance in sensory perceptions, balance in mental functions, with no single sense perception or mental function gaining ascendancy over all others" (44).

The generation of Romantics after Blake, especially William Morris, provided Reynolds with his second ideological plank–a firm belief in the arts and crafts as a way to realize a balanced existence. Morris, along with art critic John Ruskin and others, applied a Romantic critique to the nineteenth-century industrial revolution, claiming that mechanization and urbanization had exacerbated the alienation wrought by the Enlightenment (Boris 1986). Before industrialization, Morris argued, consumer products had been produced by skilled artisans whose work brought them intellectual stimulation, dignity, pleasure, an appreciation of nature, and bonds with other community members. Machines had increased efficiency, he acknowledged-more products could be made and physical standards of living had generally improved-but at

great cost. Product quality and beauty had declined. Labor had becoming drudgery as workers mutated from craftsmen to machine operators. No longer directly connected to their materials or product, they took neither pride nor pleasure in their work and felt disconnected from the natural world and community.

Morris proposed the 'craftsman ideal' as a remedy to these debilitating patterns. His ideal was both an aesthetic–the conception that natural beauty, simplicity, and utility should characterize all objects and infuse everyday life–and a theory of production–that goods should be crafted by artisans rather than machine. In short, he proposed a union of art and labor that would "counter the fragmentation that had destroyed beauty in the process of degrading work"(Boris 1986, xi). Renewed attention to traditional design principles would render mechanization inadequate and transform the lot of the typical worker, according to Morris. He or she, as the maker of handicrafts rather than an engine operator, would again become a skilled craftsperson performing work "which shall be worth doing, be of itself pleasant to do, and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious"(11). To implement this ideal, Morris founded an interior design firm in which craftsmen produced wallpaper, glass, furniture, and other decorative objects, and over the next few decades, many others established workshops, guilds, and schools dedicated to the craftsman ideal, especially in England and the United States. This 'Arts and Crafts Movement' successfully preserved many threatened traditions and revived interest in handcrafted goods; but in the end, its influence extended almost exclusively to the prosperous, and it did little if anything to achieve Morris' vision-the transformation of industrial labor relations (Boris, 1986).

Despite its failure to produce a new productive order, Reynolds embraced Morris's craftsman ideal and believed deeply in its transformative power. He perceived the core Western problem, as we have seen, to be metaphysical and psychological-an alienation of the human spirit resulting from the western tendency to split intellectual and sensory experience and to denigrate the later. Because of this bifurcation, Reynolds complained, Westerners and particularly Americans shy away from the crafts; "there is a squeamishness about getting the hands dirty, a horror of the chisel playing about the rough surfaces of wood and stone, about wet sticky clay on the potter's wheel. It is, they believe, better to think than to act" (1979, 21). This false hierarchy was particularly destructive to schools, according to Reynolds, and he grumbled that most Reed College students graduated with "empty boxes"- shells of knowledge, sadly wanting in the experience and action needed to give them meaning (23).

Reynolds looked to the crafts to fill these boxes and to heal the fragmented spirit of the West. Frequently citing the famous Morris dictum that "the true secret of happiness lies in taking a genuine interest in all the details of daily life and elevating them to art" (Gunderson and Lehman 5), he was convinced that increased respect for beauty, utility, and artisanship was the antidote to western alienation. We should fill our lives with well-designed goods that satisfy both the senses and reason, Reynolds implored, for they served as "objects of meditation that move us closer to the meanings [beyond] the limited contraries of life." Even more importantly, we should 'do' the crafts-"to build something intelligently with one's hands" (1979, 21). The craftsperson does not just think, not just make, according to Reynolds; he or she harmonizes the two in a creative act that represents the essence of the human spirit. At times, he marveled, the manual and intellectual modes completely merge; "The tool itself . . . feel[s] its way as it build[s] form . . . [and] the hand thinks" (21). Eastern and medieval European educational traditions recognized this relationship, Reynolds noted, regarding the crafts as religious ways, 'minor mysteries' that taught a physical discipline as the path to an intellectual and spiritual awakening

(1978). He urged schools to resurrect this integration by educating their students as craftspeople, i.e., engaging them in both the learning of skills and knowledge and in making well-designed things, not as ends in themselves, but as ways to "make concepts so actual the student could bruise his [or her] knuckles on them" (1979, 23).

Ideology and Handwriting

Reynolds' enthusiasm for handwriting education sprouted from the confluence of his two ideological assumptions: the unity of all reality and his commitment to the crafts as the way to restore that union. Handwriting, he proposed, was one of the crafts; like formal calligraphy, pottery, and bookbinding, it integrated sensory and mental activities, a manual discipline that naturally harmonized the intellectual and creative. But he also believed that handwriting had special potential, because, as he was fond of mentioning, it was the only craft that was already widespread in American schools and society. Far from obsolete as many argued, it was something that all school children, not to mention most adults, used on a daily basis (1978, 1979).

Handwriting also had direct links to literacy and print. When people write words as a craftsperson-by hand and with attention to beauty, simplicity, and utility-they gain two benefits, according to Reynolds. First, they experience a tactile delight .

> . . . the pen is packed with sensory pleasures . . . the curve of O, for instance, with its retardation of speed down the left side and its quickened acceleration at the base-and then the repetition of the same sensations on the right side . . . make the writing of even this one letter a sensory experience to be enjoyed (1979, 46).

Reynolds argued that this tangible encounter also infuses additional meaning to the words being inscribed.

> When the movement, alternating between slow and rapid strokes, and providing subtle variations in pressure, touch, and sensations of frictions, combines to flow in continuous rhythm, then words come more alive, for there is more sensory reality to them, more interplay of imagery to produce vital harmony . . . the student experiences the fusion of these sensations with the meanings of the sentences (1979, 46.)

Handwriting, Reynolds believed, transformed learning from primarily a visual process to one involving all of the senses. Drawing on categories that Marshall McLuhan popularized in the 1960's, he lambasted the 'typographic culture' of schools for relying too heavily on reading and print to acquire knowledge. He considered schools "too thinly "visual," unrealistically expecting students to gain meaning directly from the printed word-"instant ideas with nothing interfering" (1979, 43). Like McLuhan's 'electronic culture' but with greater respect for rational-analytic traditions, an increased focus on handwriting would engage all of the senses, the way that humans best learn according to Reynolds. The medium was truly the message.

But why Italic? Following Reynolds' reasoning, wouldn't the mastery of any script bring benefits? To some extent it would, he admitted; but Italic was superior because more than other letter forms, it embodied the principles of craftsmanship. The products of early modern writing masters' efforts to prove their virtuosity, the excessive loops and flourishes of commercial cursive scripts in the English roundhand tradition often generated "ridiculous letter-forms" such as the capital D, which according to Reynolds, was "possibly the ugliest design in the history of scripts." The result, he caustically declared, was "a bad alphabet . . . difficult to write and to read, and . . . accident prone." Italic, in contrast, derived from an historical process that

balanced simple beauty with utility; its forms were at once aesthetically pleasing, legible, resistant to error, and enjoyable to write (1979, 35, 38).

Reynolds also maintained that students read and learn more effectively when they use Italic rather than other scripts. The transition from handwriting to reading machine-printed text would be much easier with Italic because of the close resemblance between its letter forms and those of standard print. Italic would also make reading a richer experience, with the lingering memories of writing the simple, beautiful italic forms infusing additional meaning to machine-printed words. For contemporary students, who are often "impatient with and intolerant of the slow one-at-a-time linear progression of alphabetic and book culture," Italic handwriting's sensory pleasures would make "the subjects [of reading] more significant and enjoyable and the typographic-oriented culture more welcome" (1979, 46). The proof of these intuitions was in the results, according to Reynolds. At first, "Italic cursive was one of the many alphabets being taught [by me and my colleagues]" he stated in 1976, "but when we found that those who wrote Italic became better students in all of their courses, then we became enthusiastic and began to promote it more vigorously" (1979, 53). In an earlier article he shared an example of "a child's I.Q. apparently being raised by his study of Italic handwriting."

The child's school work improved so rapidly that his indignant teacher telephoned the boy's mother and said, 'I wish you would stop doing the boy's homework for him!' No one was helping him-unless it was Alfred Fairbank. The Italic was helping him (1979, 46).

Conclusions

From Reynolds' perspective, handwriting was much more than a technical tool for inscribing and communicating ideas. He viewed it as central to the curriculum-a vehicle for essential knowledge, skills, and dispositions. In some ways, this interpretation resuscitated earlier handwriting traditions. The seventeenth-century English writing masters, for example, considered handwriting as a rhetorical component of good expression and thinking, and as such inseparable from a liberal education (Christen 1998). Platt Rogers Spencer, developer of the most popular script in mid-nineteenth-century America, proclaimed handwriting's power to shape character and mental abilities. By the early twentieth-century, however, the letter forms and instructional method of A.N. Palmer had gained ascendance, and for Palmer, handwriting was not an expression of character or intellect but a manual skill that fit neatly within the conception of vocational education favored by many progressives, i.e., as an important way to increase social efficiency and stability (Thornton 1996, Kliebard 1995). Palmer vigorously promoted penmanship in the schools, but his philosophy implied that it could be replaced by other more suitable communication devices and prepared the way for its declining role in the curriculum.

Reynolds clearly rejected Palmer's social efficiency approach to handwriting. He also, in important ways, pushed beyond the arguments of earlier advocates for the pen. While others had viewed handwriting as important to a traditional liberal and moral education, Reynolds, as we have seen, considered it the vanguard for alternative conceptions of learning, schools, and, in the broadest sense, human experience. Other scripts could not carry this load, he insisted. Only Italic, with letter forms that embodied the craftsman ideal and its blending of beauty and simplicity, sensory and intellectual, could adequately integrate the various elements of a child's school experience.

Reynolds' relentless promotion of Italic through his writings, teaching, and organizing was clearly the crucial element in bringing the script to Portland and other Oregon communities.

But, it was the ideological significance that he assigned to Italic that determined the intensity of its support. For Reynolds imagined more than a new script; ultimately, as he wrote in his last published line, he sought through Italic "a culture based on a realization of the spiritual nature of the universe" (1978, 36). These dreams, even if only partially understood or embraced by today's Italic supporters, help us to understand why they, over twenty years after Reynolds' death, responded to so fervidly to the Portland Public Schools' attempts to replace the letter forms.

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Why Did the Social Studies Become Popular?

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Some historians and educators portray the transition of the school subject, history, to the social studies as the victory of educators over academicians. For example, Herbert Kliebard described the creation of the social studies in 1916 as the triumph of the social efficiency experts who wanted all school subjects to help people adapt to the social order (1986, 125-128). Another set of commentators complained that, by 1930, social studies replaced the traditional courses of history in order to reduce the academic demands on students (Powell, Farrar, and Cohen 1985, 251-252). However, contrary to these simple explanations of a struggle for the American curriculum, the controversy over the social studies paralleled controversies about the nature and purpose of history that became widespread during the early years of the twentieth century.

In 1884, historians formed the American Historical Association (AHA), but this was hardly a professional society. Only about 25 percent of the members of the AHA held faculty positions in colleges from 1890 to 1910. It was not until after World War I that the AHA required its presidents to be college professors who held doctorate degrees. The AHA moved slowly in this direction because wealthy amateurs pursuing their own interests formed the bulk of the organization's constituency (Novick, 1988 47-49).

As historians began to professionalize, educators sought to codify the purpose of history teaching in the elementary and secondary schools. In its report of 1893, the National Education Association's Committee of Ten asserted that students who were going on to college should be treated the same as students who would end their education at high school because the courses would improve the students' abilities. In this regard, the Committee noted that when the main recommended subjects were taught consecutively and thoroughly, they would all train the powers of observation, memory, expression, and reasoning. According to the Committee, the aim of such studies as history, civil government, and political economy was to train the students' judgment, to prepare them for intellectual enjoyment, and to help them, when they were mature, exercise a salutary influence on national affairs (National Education Association 1894, 44-45, 51-52).

Approving of the report of the Committee of Ten, the AHA formed the Committee of Seven to determine how schoolteachers taught history in 1899. This committee surveyed the practices secondary schools in large cities and small towns. From the 250 replies the committee received, the members found that schools taught the subject differently. The members were pleased to find that many teachers used materials besides textbooks, tried to arouse the students' interests, and sent students to libraries to do independent research. They attributed the use of these practices to the recommendations of the Committee of Ten in 1893. Nonetheless, after comparing the schools in the United States to those in Germany, France, and England, which some members visited, the committee called for more attention to history in secondary schools (Committee of Seven 1899, 429-436).

To describe the value of the study, the Committee of Seven pointed out several ways that history helped students. For example, it could show students the steps that human beings took to create civilization. Second, history helped the pupils learn how to think about political and social problems, which were similar to those they would confront as adults. Third, the study of history gave the students a broader knowledge and more intelligent spirit that came from a familiarity with people from other times. Fourth, history cultivated judgment by seeking the causes for several effects. In this way, history developed the scientific way of thinking. Finally, according

to the report, historical studies enabled the students to acquire library skills (Committee of Seven 1899, 437-441).

In 1905, the AHA appointed the Committee of Eight to consider the problems of teaching history in elementary schools. To make its study, the committee sent questionnaires to 250 superintendents around the country and found that most elementary schools gave attention to the teaching of history. To explain the value of teaching history, the committee pointed to the report of the Committee of Seven. Following the conclusions of that earlier committee, the Committee of Eight recommended that history in elementary schools should cover all the events that children could understand and these should be drawn from political, social, industrial, educational, and religious activities (1912, viii- x).

How Did Social Changes Influence People's Views of School Subjects?

In 1890, twenty-seven states had compulsory education laws and, by 1918, all forty-eight states in the union had such legislation. One reason states adopted such measures was to Americanize the immigrants who arrived from Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, the Balkans, and Italy settling in cities such as Boston, Chicago, and New York. Many older residents feared the new comers threatened social coherence.

In addition to requiring children to attend schools, educators created a new field of study called the social studies to build notions of citizenship among the students. From 1913 to 1916, the National Education Association's Commission to Reorganize Secondary Education (CRSE) sponsored the Committee on Social Studies in Secondary Schools to evaluate the subject areas. The Committee on Social Studies defined the social studies as those subjects whose content related to the organization and development of human society and to people as members of social groups. These included geography, history, economics, political science, and sociology. The aim of the social studies was to cultivate good citizenship. Thus, from their social studies, the students would develop loyalties to their city, their state, and their nation that were tempered by a sense of membership in a world community (Committee on Social Studies 1994, 17).

In 1977, Robert D. Barth, James Barrett, and S. Samuel Shermis sought to explain the difference between the Committee of Seven and of Eight, which they said was dominated, by historians and the NEA Committee on Social Studies, which they said was dominated by educators. These commentators concluded that academic scholars were more likely to favor a textbook orientation than were teachers who faced students daily (Barr, Barth, and Shermis 1977, 19-25). However, this claim overstated the separation between academics and instructors. While the AHA's committees recommended what might be called a textbook approach, they did so because they feared teachers with only modest training could not be left to make up courses. Further, the AHA's committees tried to find ways to make that approach interesting. Finally, the AHA's committees' members were aware of the problems of teaching in public elementary and secondary schools. Although only one of the members of the Committee of Seven was a teacher, three others had been. On the Committee of Seven, three members were superintendents of schools and two taught in normal schools. Only two members were from colleges. Thus, it is not fair to distinguish these committees as being made up of either academics or of educators. A more reasonable explanation for the differences among the committee's views about school curriculums is that the nature of the field of history changed as the social situations changed. This was illustrated in subsequent reports about the teaching of history.

In 1923-24, the AHA commissioned a study of the teaching of the social sciences. This report described teachers and administrators faced with increasing numbers of students, confronted by changing social conditions, and confused by the conflicting recommendations of learned committees. Consequently, in 1929, the AHA appointed the Commission on the Social

Studies in the Schools.

In 1932, the AHA published the first report of the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools. Written by Charles Beard, a famous historian, in consultation with the other members of the AHA Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools, the report, entitled A *Charter for the Social Studies*, proposed a unified social studies that integrated such disciplines as history, sociology, political science, and economics. Since the U.S. had entered the great Depression, the commission hoped that such a curriculum could help produce students who would improve the social conditions. However, Beard did not go so far as to say that the schools could solve social problems. Instead, he gave three reasons why there should be integrated courses rather than separate or fixed studies of the social sciences. First, there was constant change in the intellectual disciplines and in the society. Second, in an industrial society, people should learn to think rather than to know certain information. Third, in a democracy, students had to learn to participate intelligently in politics (1932, v-xii, 21-44).

For Beard and his commission, the fundamental purpose of the social studies was to help students create rich, many-sided personalities. The social studies should equip the students with the practical knowledge and the ideals necessary to succeed in a changing world. This meant the students should be informed, be aware that the environment as well as individuals can be changed, and be imbued with the highest aspirations of humankind (1932, 96-97).

In addition to the *Charter for the Social Studies*, Beard wrote another book for the commission. Published in 1934, it was entitled, *The Nature of the Social Studies in Relation to Objectives of Instruction*. This was a more extensive work than the introductory *Charter for the Social Studies* since it treated the problems of the social sciences as a whole and the objectives that should be sought to make the content useful in guiding society. In this text, Beard stated the thesis that marked his career in the AHA. This was the view that there can be no science of society because none of the social sciences could be as exact as the natural sciences. At best, Beard argued, social sciences could predict within broad limits what might happen under certain conditions. For example, economists might use historical data to predict what would happen to wages and prices if a country's currency remains inflated.

When Henry Elmer Barnes reviewed Beard's, *Nature of the Social Studies*, he noted that the commission's series of books aroused controversy among historians. While he believed the books to be important contributions to efforts to reconstruct American society in reasonable ways, he complained that the series did not acknowledge the work that other educators and previous commissions had accomplished. Nonetheless, Barnes praised Beard for recognizing that the social sciences did not offer unlimited value to efforts for social reform because such efforts had to be guided by ethical considerations. According to Barnes, the irony that Beard pointed out was that objectivity in the social sciences was diminished by the same degree to which ethics entered the study of society (1934, 97-98).

Most important to this discussion, Beard made the same point to the AHA when he became president. In January 1934, Beard delivered his presidential address, "Written History as an Act of Faith." Quoting Benedetto Croce, he defined history as contemporary thought about the past. This definition repudiated the doctrine held by historians during the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth century who sought to describe the past as it had happened. This hope had come from conservative historians after the French Revolution who wearied of history as propaganda. As historians recognized the obstacles to objectivity, Beard added, they borrowed two formulas from natural science. The first was that every event had a cause and if historians could reveal these they would discover the laws of social change. For Beard, Karl Marx illustrated this model. The second was that historians borrowed the images of Darwin and described successions of cultural organisms that rose, grew, competed with other

societies, and fell. Oswald Spengler represented this ideal. According to Beard, historians tired of these searches for objectivity, and adopted a formula that made all events relative to time and circumstance. Calling this scheme historical relativity, Beard noted that it could not become absolute because such inquiries served the ideas and interests of some groups during particular times. To avoid the dangers of believing that history was a record of chaos or of treating it as either Marx or Spengler envisioned, Beard urged historians to use the scientific method but, at the same time, to acknowledge the biases implicit in their selections of topics and their treatments of materials (1934, 219-229).

Beard's presidential address sparked controversy from members of AHA who called the ideal of objectivity a noble dream that had led its believers to write sound and masterly books. Beard replied to these criticisms with a paper entitled, "That Noble Dream." According to Beard, there were several assumptions in the idea that historians could divorce themselves of their predilections and record the truth. One such assumption was that the historian could know this thing called history. Another was that the historian could view the historical record objectively. A third was that the events of history had some organization, which the historian could understand. Unfortunately, Beard added, these assumptions were impossible. For example, historians cannot see the past objectively but must rely on documents, which cover only part of the events. Further, the documentation represents only part of the past. In addition, when historians recorded events, they used some ethical considerations and they brought with them the biases of their own times. Thus, Beard concluded, these limits destroyed the idea of history as objectivity. Consequently, he called for more open meetings among historians where subjects ranged beyond the political histories historians commonly wrote. He urged historians to reach into economic, racial, sexual, and cultural interests. At the same time, he recommended that historians describe the assumptions under which they worked (1935, 74-87).

What Methods of Curriculum Planning Did Historians Recommend?

As the controversy among historians proceeded, various members of the AHA's Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools explored alternatives for teaching the social studies. One such idea was to begin the instruction of history with the present and extend to the past. This was an effort to ensure that there was adequate discussion of contemporary issues. However, the ideal of an integrated approach to the study of society came from Leon Marshall, author of several history texts, and his daughter, Rachel Marshall Goetz (Barr, Barth, and Shermis 1977, 30).

Marshall and Goetz's text was similar to a text that a social studies educator, Harold Rugg, wrote and published at about the same time. Both texts integrated the social science disciplines. However, Marshall and Goetz's approach was less likely to suffer criticisms from the conservatives who attacked Rugg for being socialistic. Since Rugg structured his texts around issues or problems, critics could easily complain that he portrayed the United States in a poor light. Since Marshall and Goetz organized their approach around what they called the processes of living, they could point out that their text exposed children to ways of living common to all societies. According to Marshall and Goetz, there were five groups of fundamental human activities that made social life comprehensible. These included adjusting to the external world, continuing biologically, guiding human motivation, developing social organization, and directing cultural improvement. Their text explained each of these and compared the ways people in different societies undertook them (1936, 2-11).

By organizing the instruction around five processes of living, Marshall and Goetz believed teachers could build on the students' familiarity with each process. Further, since the processes were universal, the lessons offered an overview of data for social living at all times

and in all places. While Marshall and Goetz wanted the students to realize that the physical environment influenced the society or culture that lives in it, they pointed out that change was not always progress. For example, the cultural advances that brought material improvement also led to war. Consequently, they hoped the social studies would teach the children how to direct the culture toward ever better living (1936,11-45).

To explain how such an organization might work, Marshall and Goetz presented explanations of each of the five processes. For example, in adjusting to the external world, the students could learn about the increasing control that people have exercised over the physical environment. This included the ways people made light. Artificial illumination extended from simple fires to lamps of fat and candles to gas jets. Similar stories of fighting famine through food preservation might be explained. In all these cases, the students made certain fundamental observations. One was that the ability to live well depended on changes in the environment. Another was that although such changes should have led to the creation of different types of human beings, they did not. A third observation was that as people found new ways to do things, their culture changed (1936, 49-53).

In keeping with their aim of teaching the students to evaluate change, Marshall and Goetz urged the teachers to present the advantages and disadvantages of the choices. This extended into controversial areas. For example, when they considered complicated matters, such as the development of economic systems, they noted that collective systems such as then in practice in the Soviet Union improved life for many people but caused suffering for others. They noted that capitalistic systems such as found in the United States caused a disproportionate distribution of wealth and, at times, broke down. Yet, they contended that it produced high living standards for many people. In another controversial example, under biological continuance, they considered different forms of family life: monogamy, polygamy, and polyandry. However, the authors did not argue that one view was best. Instead, Marshall and Goetz wanted the students to learn that the mating arrangements were aspects of a culture, and, if those aspects were to be planned, such planning would be complicated (1936, 70-71, 109-111).

How Did Other Historians React to the *Charter for the Social Studies*?

There is some controversy about the way historians reacted to Marshall's and Goetz's work. For example, in 1988, Peter Novick claimed that the AHA never officially accepted or endorsed its commission's report, *Charter for the Social Studies*. He contended that the problem stemmed from the fact that, after World War I, historians looked back on the participation of many of their colleagues in serving the war effort and turned history writing into propaganda. According to Novick, historians worried that the social studies would make them servants of the government. As a result, they complained that the commission's report expressed an explicit frame of reference that historians would have to adopt (1988,190-191).

While some historians may have expressed the fears that Novick describes, the AHA continued its support of the social studies. In 1934, the AHA assumed responsibility for editing the magazine, *The Social Studies*, for teachers of history, social studies, and social sciences, which became the journal for the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). In 1937, the AHA and the NCSS established the journal, *Social Education*, which was to appeal to junior high school and high school teachers by publishing articles debating the nature of the social studies, evaluating its aims, and describing appropriate methods of instruction.

In its second issue, *Social Education* described the evolution of the social studies movement. According to the editors, the 1916 report of the Committee on Social Studies represented a rebellion of school people against the requirements imposed by the various committees of the AHA and enforced by the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB).

While the 1916 report presented a practical program for junior and senior high schools, the conservative colleges and the CEEB did not recognize the new subjects in the social studies. As a result, in 1934, the CEEB established a Commission on History, which presented its report in 1937 (Editor 77-78).

Novick claimed that the CEEB commission paid little attention to the social studies and reinforced the teaching of history as a separate subject (1988, 191-192). However, Novick's interpretation of the CEEB report seems to be only partially true. The CEEB commission began its investigation into the study of teaching history by making a survey of the practices being used. The commission sent questionnaires to 250 schools and 75 universities. They found an increasing attention to social studies among all schools even private ones although there was more resistance among prestigious preparatory schools. However, there was no agreement as to what social studies should cover and universities made no consistent requirements concerning what the students should study (CEEB 1936, 546-548).

In its definition of history, the CEEB commission made it possible for students to study history in a manner consistent with the social studies. The commission defined "history as the study of man in society from his dim beginnings to the present day" (1936, 548). The commission added that the study should be undertaken in as broad a manner as possible. Therefore, the members preferred courses in world civilization over any political, social or cultural history. Most important, according to the report, such a study should enable students to understand the fundamental problems human beings faced in their social evolution.

In one sense, the commission did challenge the social studies movement. The report noted that in high schools there was an emphasis to use history courses as means to prepare students to become good citizens. As a result, although the commission's report agreed that a study in history could not be fully objective, the members did caution against including only those aspects of history that tied to contemporary concerns (CEEB 1936, 549).

However, they made two other recommendations that brought courses in history closer to the aim of the social studies. First, to limit the material that the CEEB examination would cover, the commission recommended that teachers concentrate on the history of Europe, Egypt, and the New World. At the same time, they urged that the study of ancient history, which concerned Greece and Rome, be reduced although not entirely removed in favor of more contemporary studies. Second, when describing the methods of instructions, the report recommended that teachers present the units of civilization as evolving cultures. Further, to describe the fundamental problems that history courses should discuss, the authors borrowed the framework of social processes that Marshall and Goetz had made in their book, *Curriculum Making in the Social Studies* (CEEB 1936, 550-556).

How Did Historians and Social Studies Teachers React to the CEEB Report?

One member of the CEEB commission, Tyler Kepner, refused to sign the report. In a minority opinion, he complained that the report turned the study of history into courses in sociology. Further, he protested that the method the report recommended, the format suggested by Marshall and Goetz, had been considered for more than twenty years in limited circles without success (CEEB 1936, 565-566).

In a subsequent article, Kepner, director of the social studies for Brookline, Massachusetts public schools, described five problems he had noted in the commission's report. First, he disliked the practice of commissions handing down blue prints to teachers. In this case, he claimed that historians were trying to control the social studies curriculum and exclude the other disciplines that should be involved. Second, he thought the members of these commissions ignored the needs of the average pupil in the average classroom. Third, those plans overlooked

the fact that many teachers were not trained to teach the curriculums they defined. Fourth, he noted that textbooks were not written in ways that built on those plans. Finally, he contended that the commission drew up its plans without considering whether the citizens in the communities wanted such curriculums (1937, 81-87).

The teachers of history at Phillips Exeter Academy endorsed Kepner's objections. They argued that the effort to teach broad courses that confront fundamental problems would force teachers to skim the surface of many events. These teachers argued that such a social processes approach would leave the students with a thin layer of unrelated facts (Teachers 1937, 258).

However, Alan Lake Chidsey, headmaster of the Pawling School, complimented the work of the CEEB commission in trying to provide some organization to a field in which different experts expected teachers to follow different directions. He contended that Kepner's complaints were ill founded. For example, Chidsey asserted that there was no difficulty in studying social problems. He noted that any historical study should be considered as a broad sociological investigation. Second, Chidsey acknowledged that teachers may not be prepared to use the new system and it may ask a great deal of students. However, he did not think that justified remaining in a system that forced students to memorize dates, places, and events (Chidsey 1937, 256-257).

The editors of *The Social Studies* who printed the CEEB report chided the commission for ignoring the 1916 report on the social studies. They complained that the commission was premature in endorsing the social process approach of Marshall and Goetz because teachers were not trained to use it nor had texts been printed that were built around it. Since these problems could be resolved in time, they favored the approach (CEEB 1936, 567).

What Do the Controversies Illustrate?

Despite the view of many scholars that social studies competed with history as a school subject, the controversies that took place in the 1930's seem to illustrate that historians agreed with the development of the social studies because they began to move their own profession in the same ways. For example, Beard's call to wider, more open approaches to history mirrored the general mind set that Marshall and Goetz wanted the elementary and secondary students to acquire as they pursued the social studies. In that way, the controversies over the social studies reflected questions about the nature of intellectual activities. In the same way that historians argued about ways their field could be relevant to contemporary society, the educators wanted school curriculums to help children reduce social problems. In the main, though, the shift from history to social studies was much more than a struggle for control of the curriculum.

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Give Peace a Chance: College Student Protest and the Civil Rights Movement, 1960-1975

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Yearly, the University of California-Los Angeles conducts a national college freshmen survey. Findings indicate that college student commitment to political causes is at its lowest in 32 years (Alvarado 1999).

For example, in 1997 only 26.7% of all college students viewed keeping abreast of political affairs as important. This represents a significant decrease in interest when compared to 57.8% in 1966. We contend that conditions of the 60s and 70s represent a different set of circumstances.

Historical Context

For this work, student unrest is defined as turbulence and an unsettled nature of the period while protest connotes organized mass discontent and civil disobedience. College student unrest has a long history in the United States, although only in the later half of the twentieth century did it receive serious scholarly attention (Rudolph 1966, 47-58). Historical records reveal periods during which students engaged in riots and open rebellion dating back to the founding of the first American college, and deal primarily with student complaints against the colleges and universities. Examples include dissatisfaction with living conditions, the prescribed curriculum, and the strict paternalism of the campus. Manifestations of student dissatisfaction, often violent in nature, were primarily directed against the academy.

In contrast to the early outbursts of student activism, during the 1960s through the 1970s, with impetus from the 1954 Supreme Court Brown v. Board of Education decision regarding segregation, student protest followed a different path. This infamous decision had a profound effect on higher education and marked the beginning of an era of organized mass college student protest (Lipset 1993, 9-14). Students became less interested in the deficiencies of campus life and turned their attention to a much larger cause--fighting segregation in American society. The Civil Rights movement and the Brown decision forced students to focus their attention on a key American problem, segregation (Altbach and Peterson 1972, 29). Waldo Martin (1998, 34) documents that the Brown decision "has contributed to battles and movements on behalf of the marginalized, including other peoples of color, women, gays and lesbians, and the disabled. Likewise, the decision has profoundly influenced the evolution of 'rights consciousness' with American society -that is, 'judicial activism' on behalf of human rights, notably the rights of oppressed groups and individuals."

Student unrest in the 60s and 70s had everything to do with the struggle for civil rights, voting privileges, human rights, and governmental decisions such as those related to the Vietnam Conflict. As these controversies evolved, student unrest, organized protest, revolt, and demonstrations were common on college campuses across the nation. This phenomenon became largely referred to as the Student Movement, a movement that engaged campuses throughout the country and that was often viewed as militant and sometimes hostile to established university authorities. It integrated the concerns of students with the political issues of a wider constituency (Skolnick 1970, 397). Although this paper focuses on those who participated in protest activity, it must also be noted that there were those who did not agree with the protest movement (Lipset 1993, 38-80). Before we explore the Civil Rights and Human Rights movements and the

Vietnam Conflict as the leading causes of student unrest for that generation, it is important to identify those student organizations that were most important to these causes.

Student Organizations

The value of student organizations was their ability to bring in and organize a wide range of students around a particular cause and began with the Southern movement. As a Southern student Civil Rights movement developed, through 1964, demonstration organizers worked to expand participation to include students from both the North and West. Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and later Students for a Democratic Society were very important to this case of mass protest.

SNCC- Southern college students formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960. The committee was comprised of those who wished to bring rapid social change through direct non-violent direct protest action. Formed as an interracial organization to bring about rapid social change through direct protest action, this group was labeled the "shock troops" for the southern movement. Civil rights historians credit SNCC as being responsible for many of the changes that occurred in the 1960s (Haines 1988, 36). SNCC was responsible for conducting the Freedom Rides of the early 1960s that led to the desegregation of Southern bus terminals; they also played the lead role in organizing the 1964 Freedom Summer to register southern black voters and raise community awareness about the Civil Rights movement as a whole. Students of all colors and backgrounds mobilized and worked together to make a statement and a difference.

By late-1964, however, SNCC began to experience internal problems between its black and white members, and all whites were asked to discontinue their association with the movement. This action ultimately became a turning point in the history of student unrest, as thousands of white activists were left to themselves and were virtually severed from the Civil Rights movement.

Black students were inspired by community based protest organizations and adopted their strategies in demanding direct action from university administrators. They wanted answers and action taken, both to increase the black presence on campus and to incorporate black studies programs into the college curriculum. Students of African descent stood behind their demands through the end of the decade. Again we must note that as with the general population, not all blacks agreed with this action nor were all whites in agreement with the movement. Black student unrest dominated protest initiatives on college campuses, particularly the historically white campuses, during the years 1968-69 (Kerr 1970, 14).

While African American students continued to fight for Civil Rights, college student protest in general became more focused on saving humanity from the dominant values of American society. Utilizing the non-violent protest tactics learned from SNCC training and in collaboration with campuses across the country, white student activists formed additional student organizations. They began to press for broad social change.

A New Left grew out of the Civil Rights movement, and organizations such as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) became popular and violent.

SDS- Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was formed in the early 1960s. SDS stressed the role of students as legitimate participants in society and gave student activists a greater feeling of self-confidence. A multi-issue movement, they focused on the working class and like a chameleon changed to pursue any matter of concern. A main goal was to overthrow American capitalism. Their manifesto included the Free Speech Movement and they believed in

participatory democracy. SDS remained student controlled and refused any support from adult authorities.

The New York Times reported that groups such as SDS had the backing of several civil rights groups including SNCC and the NAACP (New York Times, April 18, 1965). After 1964, given the split from the Civil Rights movement and black student activism, SDS drifted. They moved from protest to resistance to revolutionary action and became increasingly radical. After the 1969 convention in Chicago, the organization splintered into the Weathermen and the Worker-Student Alliance. The Weathermen based their action on the need for revolutionary violence and were ultimately forced underground. The Worker-Student Alliance concerned itself with organizing the working class.

The Issue of Civil Rights

According to Phillips (1985, 126), the Civil Rights movement provided the major impetus for college student movements between 1960 and1970. From 1960-1964, Civil Rights was the principal matter that enlisted the sympathy and participation of a substantial segment of college students.

The movement was revolutionary in terms of resource mobilization and symbolic action. Students demanded change in not only university policies with regards to desegregation and African Americans, but also in the existing social order. Everything was in question. No one over thirty could be trusted. Following the lead of the Civil Rights movement, direct nonviolent action was used in mass demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, boycotts, petitions, slow-downs, walkouts, strikes, letters, speeches, essays, credos, voter registration drives and legal action.

The 1960 Greensboro sit-in at the Woolworth lunch counter by four African American students from North Carolina A&T sparked organized nonviolent demonstrations nationwide. Only two months following the initial sit-in, over 50,000 African American and white college students joined together nationwide to fight racial segregation and discrimination. They fearlessly participated in mass demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, boycotts, walkouts, and strikes adhering to non-violent methods (Hampton and Fayer 1990, 60). During the first three months of this protest, 78 communities participated in sit-ins as students from diverse backgrounds banded together to strengthen the movement. Without hesitation they accepted the consequences for their actions which often included severe beatings, arrest and sometimes death; they were not afraid to take the risks that those over thirty often feared. Through their dedicated efforts, the students eventually won the support of many.

The Vietnam Conflict

Student unrest and protest activity continued to grip the nation in the late 1960s, and public opinion polls show that for a short time, it was the most important concern of the American population (Altbach 1997, 4). As the United States' involvement in Vietnam intensified, students protested what they felt to be the morally unjust nature of war. They questioned why America would subject Vietnam to such destruction; others argued that the U.S. had no vested interest in the Conflict. Many also felt it was wrong for the U.S. Government to commit such a large amount of fiscal support to an unjust war when the money would be better spent at home. "Hell no! We won't go!" was the battle cry of the Vietnam Conflict movement.

The decision in February 1965, to increase American involvement in Vietnam by sending in large numbers of drafted troops, sparked major opposition. For example, on April 17, 1965

more than 15,000 students, mostly white, picketed the White House against American involvement in Vietnam. In addition a petition was presented to Congress regarding U.S. involvement in Indochina while coordinated marches to the Washington Monument and the Capitol were held. A similar demonstration was held in San Francisco when 200 students gathered on the steps of the Federal Building. Concurrently, speeches were heard all around our nation's campuses denouncing the war.

By the late-1960s, national polls reported that the issue of student discontent had become the most important concern of the American population (Lipset 1993, 14). The United States' invasion of Cambodia elevated student unrest to a new level, and the nation's campuses found themselves in a crisis situation. Heightened media coverage on America's campuses once again captivated the nation's attention.

By 1967, issues of civil rights and poverty began to decline in student movements in the north, while the conflict in Vietnam, the draft, student rights and student power became more central (Phillips 1985, 66). In contrast to the Civil Rights movement, by 1967 protests and demonstrations became more violent. When forty thousand people, including a large number of university students, marched on the Pentagon, twenty thousand soldiers, sailors, marines, and guardsmen were brought in to keep the peace. The nonviolent protests had turned to civil disorder. Some protestors carried clubs, ax handles and North Vietnamese flags. The American flag and different political figures, including Nixon were regularly burnt in effigy. These protests and the attempts to quell them would be explosive and could sometimes result in violence and death.

In April of 1970, as students reacted strongly to President Nixon's authorization of the Cambodian invasion, the nation's campuses found themselves in a crisis situation. The result was devastating. Following the killings at Jackson and Kent State, institutions across the nation were forced to close their doors in fear of further violence. This mass effort speaks to the dedication of college students. At this point, the new focus changed to that of human rights for all people.

The Case for Human Rights

Clearly an integral part of both the Civil Rights and anti-Vietnam War movements was that of human rights. Students argued that the unfair treatment of both African Americans and the Vietnamese were connected to the basic rights of humans. This included those who were forced to kill or be killed for a country that did not grant them equal rights at home. "Peace" was the major issue especially on those campuses in the north. Much of this peace movement had to do with racial injustice, poverty, and the threat of nuclear war. Protesters directly linked poverty with the struggle for human rights. As such, outraged at the cost of an escalating war and enraged that no one in authority was paying attention to America's domestic problems, they volunteered in large numbers to work in poverty ridden urban and rural areas. At the graduation of the class of 1969 at Yale University, William Thompson, then class secretary, voiced the thoughts of college student protest. In his commencement address, Thompson stated that "...the war is destroying not one nation but two–the Vietnamese and our own. Our cities are in decay; our universities in chaos; our poor are hungry. And yet our money and our energies are expended on war and the perpetuation of war...." (Thompson 1969) Those were the times at hand.

Finally, as the U.S. withdrew its troops and support from Vietnam, the great decade of student movements came to an end. The new culture of the late 1970s could no longer sustain the student movement as college students were no longer involved with the societal issues that

roused the students of the 1960s (Altbach 1997, xviii). Students found themselves more concerned with the declining economy and their uncertain futures than with the overall conditions of society. In the end, college administrators were left to develop and introduce new policies and procedures to prevent future acts of mass student unrest. At least this time, students were included in the discussion.

Conclusion

After a an analysis of the issues that prompted college student protest in the 1960s and 70s, it is apparent that the common issue that ties a majority of the acts of students to unrest is the Civil Rights movement. If it were not for the thousands of college students that participated in the early phases, it is doubtful that the college student protest movement would have had the impact on American society that resulted. The anti-war movement that swept the country in the mid-60s was soundly tied to safeguarding the civil and human rights of both U.S. citizens and the Indochinese. Students viewed the imperialist tactics of the U.S. government in Southeast Asia to be consistent with the way people of African descent were oppressed in America. Activists were against the senseless killing of thousands of innocent drafted American soldiers and innocent Indochinese. As a result, their actions eventually played an important role in the downfall of the Nixon administration.

There is no doubt that the Civil Rights movement provided a strategy for an entire decade of student protest. Social unrest caused student unrest, and therefore civil rights issues were associated with all of the major student movements that swept the American campus during those years. The student activists strongly believed that all people were entitled to personal freedom, dignity and self-respect. Because of their commitment and fortitude, college students were a collective force to be reckoned with.

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The Kaiser Child Service Centers: A Brief Report

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Early childhood educator Dr. James L. Hymes, Jr. was known for his ability to communicate. Over the years of his career, he published numerous books, leaflets, and articles on understanding, managing, and teaching young children. These pieces were most popular with teachers and parents but were also incorporated into college coursework for early childhood programs (Dickerson 1992, 89). Early career appointments include work with the Works Progressive Administration nursery schools, the Progressive Education Association, and the Caroline Zachry Institute of New York City, and all three opportunities were used to hone his writing skills. After the Second World War, he served as Professor of Early Childhood Education at the State Teachers College of New Paltz, New York, at George Peabody College, and at the University of Maryland (Dickerson 1992, 83-85). A most significant appointment, which clearly influenced his teaching and literature, however, was his time spent at the Kaiser Child Service Centers. His time at these childcare centers in Portland, Oregon during World War II led to the shaping of his ideas which he then clearly and simply described for others for many years to come. A look at the model and makeup of the Kaiser Centers affords insight into the reasons for its influence upon Dr. Hymes.

On November 8 and 18, 1943, the Kaiser Company opened two childcare centers for the children of women working in the Kaiser Shipyards in Portland, Oregon, producing ships for World War II (Hymes 1995, 23). These childcare centers had three distinctive qualities: they were built at the entrance of the shipyards, they were industry-based, and they were big enough to meet the potential need of caring for many children. The Portland community had issues with all three distinctions, concerned that children at the entrance of a war industry might suffer enemy attack and that a business running a childcare program would exploit children in effort to hold women workers. Construction of the childcare centers occurred, however, and architects Wolff and Phillips built two large centers with fifteen classrooms each that came out as spokes from a wheel. The center or hub of the 'wheel' served as an outdoor playground specifically placed in the middle to prevent children from wandering into the shipyard. Each classroom had its own bathroom facilities with low toilets placed twelve inches from the ground, storage space, and two walls of windows almost floor to ceiling where children could look out to see the ships (Crawford 2000, 3). There were excellent kitchen facilities, auxiliary classrooms for working with smaller groups, teachers' offices, and covered porch areas for outdoor play on rainy days (Hymes 1978, 30-3).

After determining to build the centers, shipyard director Edgar Kaiser, son of Henry J. Kaiser, searched for the most qualified individual to run the centers. He turned to the United States Office of Education for a list of names, then to the Lanham Act office, and then to the Children's Bureau. One name emerged from all three sources: Dr. Lois Meek Stolz. In the midst of research at Berkeley, Stolz felt she could not leave her position permanently (Hymes 1978, 31,2). Kaiser then proposed that Stolz serve as overall consultant and director and that another be hired as Manager-on-the-spot; that other became James L. Hymes. "Mr. Kaiser made a few phone calls and I (James) was released from the Pentagon...Within a week I arrived in Portland, in early September 1943," (Hymes 1978, 40).

Fortunately, the two centers needed few changes. Fences were needed in the central play yard area so that each class could have its own play space, and doors to the children's bathrooms

were to be removed. Hymes recalls the architects and shipyard management grumbling about both requests, arguing that fencing the playground would be unattractive, and that surely children needed their privacy. Stolz and Hymes won out, but they did not make issue of the third desired change: "Each of the rooms had big lighting fixtures, hanging down from the ceiling. They were decorated with designs of clowns, elephants...When you looked at them, you had to say, 'Isn't that cute?' That expression sums up the way many people looked at young children...cute little subhuman creatures who somehow liked things that wiser adults could never like. We didn't bother to make any issue of the lighting fixtures," (Hymes 1995, 27). Last of all, the imitation pine-paneling wallpaper was declared "dull and monotonous" by Kaiser himself which resulted in the painting of the walls in yellow, pink, blue, and green "charming pastel colors," (Hymes 1978, 41,2).

Naming the centers required thought. The most frequently used names for nursery schools seemed to fail to capture the intent of this unique program. "We had always cared deeply for children...But the notion of thinking not only of children, (but) their parents, was for many of us a relatively new idea–an idea that kept growing in all of us," (Hymes 1995, 29). "The Kaiser Child Service Centers–captured (what) we wanted. Looking back, I suppose we might have done better if we had called them Child and Family Service Centers. There was a steady commitment from Edgar Kaiser on down to expand as new needs...opened up." (Hymes 1978, 51).

First on Stolz's and Hymes' list to hire was nutritionist Dr. Miriam E. Lowenberg. Dr. Lowenberg had just received her Ph.D. from The University of Iowa, had served at Iowa State College's Nursery School, and authored *Your Child's Food* (Takanishi, 211). Initially thinking the job offer was a joke, once convinced otherwise, Lowenberg arrived in Portland in one or two days and began her work at the centers (Hymes 1995, 25). Her goal for the centers was to provide two-thirds of the children's daily nutritional needs (Hurwitz 1998, 38). During operation, Lowenberg prepared weekly sheets to inform parents of the foods their children would be served along with suggestions for the remaining meals at home. Children were served full breakfast at seven a.m., a mid-morning snack, and a noon meal (Hymes 1978, 49,50).

The idea of an infirmary for mildly ill children came from Dr. Stolz when she noticed that both centers had one large room each for which no purpose had been set. "I (explained to Kaiser) that most nursery schools were organized so that if a child arrived with a runny nose with his mother, he wasn't accepted....Or if the child was taken sick during the day,....the mother would be called from her job and had to pick up her child...In the plan Mr.Wolff (the architect) had a lovely large room...for which there wasn't any special use. Wolff thought it might be a nice lounge where staff...might go to relax. I talked to them about the possibility of making this into the infirmary...I remember calling my husband long distance that night. He was an M. D. and had been at the Institute of Child Welfare Research at the University of California...He said he thought if it was planned well that it would work." (Takanishi, 208). The infirmaries were established with beds partitioned by glass to help prevent the spread of germs while allowing children interaction through visibility. Stolz also convinced architect Wolff to install waist-high bathtubs: "Nobody quite understood why we would (need bathtubs), but I just felt sure we would," (Takanishi, 209). Later, this medical team administered over 3,600 immunizations the first year alone and also gave Schick tests (Hymes 1978, 52).

The philosophy behind staffing the centers turned full circle before implementation. The Kaiser Company had originally assumed it could staff the centers easily enough from the women applying for jobs in the shipyards (Hymes 1978, 31). Once convinced that professional staff

were needed, Kaiser agreed for Stolz and Hymes to hire the best. They undertook a nationwide recruitment in September of 1943. "Fortunately,... (we) knew people at most of the major teacher training institutions, and we called all our friends. That was our most successful recruiting. But I remember also sending...telegrams (which) stirred great excitement on many campuses which had never before known any hue and cry about nursery school teachers," (Hymes 1978, 44). Norah Clancy was hired as director of Oregonship Center and Julia Jacoby, later followed by Mrs. Lee Bean, served as director of Swan Island Center (Hymes 1978, 44). Each director had two or three supervisors as well; these were degreed teachers with ten or more years in the field of early childhood (Hymes, 1976, 11). In this group of experienced leaders were Edith Dowley, Eugenia Hunter, Emma Harris, Marion Gay, Mary Jane Reid, Muriel Paul, and Avis Goodwin (Hymes 1978, 44). Each classroom had three teachers--a senior teacher with two assistants. Senior teachers were expected to have three or more years of experience in nursery or kindergarten education, and assistant teachers were college graduates with little or no experience (Hymes 1978, 45). All together, the staff of one hundred teachers and six supervisors came from twenty-five different colleges (Hurwitz 1998, 38).

Hymes' observation of the fine educational practice employed at the Kaiser Centers is reflected many years later: "As these teachers came from all over the country, it was interesting to see that they, for the most part, held a common philosophy of education...there was no curriculum imposed from my office... dictating that this is what you must teach, when you must teach it...Despite the absence of this overall guidance...there was a very impressive and very pleasing similarity as one walked around the wagon wheel,...What went on could best be described with a word that today does not have a good sound...You could call it a respect for play. You could call it a respect for growth and development. You could call it a respect for children's interests and concerns," (Hymes 1995, 28).

Teacher salaries were raised from $3,120 to $5,000 a year (Hurwitz 1998, 38). This story is told by Lois Stolz: "When I first discussed salaries with Edgar Kaiser I proposed that we pay the same wage that teachers were getting in the Lanham Act war nurseries, because I didn't want us to compete. I told Mr. Kaiser the figure and he almost exploded: 'You can't pay college graduates that! You won't hold them a week. All the administrative offices in the yards will steal them away from you.' So we had to up our salary scale, and, of course, we didn't fight the idea," (Hymes 1978, 46). Kaiser Center teacher Ruth Berkman recalls, "I had earned two hundred dollars a year as a teaching apprentice. As a head teacher, I was earning sixty dollars a month. At Kaiser the salary was five thousand dollars a year. I had never even had a Social Security number before! They made us feel like treasured members of the profession," (Zinsser 1984, 78). Teachers did work hard, however–a forty-eight hour week and a fifty-week year. Compensations consisted of a two-week paid vacation and the option of a pre-paid railroad ticket sent to their home town to be paid back through salary deductions (Hymes 1978, 46).

Equipping the classrooms was made possible through the right contacts and the Kaiser Company expediters. Rose Alschuler had previously persuaded the Potomac Engineering Supply to make kits of complete fundamentals for primary classrooms. These bundles were originally created to help the War Housing children's centers, but the Kaiser Centers got the first shipment–thirty sets including cots, sheets, blankets, screens, tables, chairs, indoor and outdoor blocks, easels, wagons, packing cases, ladders, saw horses, and climbing apparatus (Hymes 1978, 42,3). Educational Playthings of New York City sent all they had–puzzles, peg boards, sand toys, carpentry tools, flat-bottomed boats, and cars (Hymes 1978, 43,4). Accustomed to

speeding up shipments of steel, the Kaiser Company were able to urge carloads of children's play equipment westward.

Finally, opening day for the Kaiser Child Service Centers arrived in November 1943. The centers operated twenty-four hours a day in order to cover all three work shifts. Children attending day shift arrived close to 8:15 a.m. and left at 6:00 p.m.. Swing shift attendees arrived at 4:30 p.m., played, ate, and slept until mothers arrived just after 1:30 a.m.. The few children attending the night shift segment arrived after supper and then slept the night through (Hymes 1978, 48). Journal entries of teachers offer helpful insights into the reality of a day at the Kaiser Centers. Teacher Elizabeth Oleson Garvais worked with eighteen-month-olds during swing shift from 2:30 p.m. till midnight. Her entry cites:

> At 11:30 the yard whistle gives a long blast. At 11:45 the first parents come in, walking quietly in their heavy shoes, lowering their voices as they collect their children's belongings. Big men in metal helmets gently pick up sleeping babies. Mothers help wrap them in blankets. Many children manage a sleepy smile and hug. Some, wide awake, are carried from the room looking back over Dad's broad shoulders. Some go out still sleeping soundly. Finally the last helmet and the last lunch pail have gone along with the last child, Ruthie, who blinks at me like a sleepy owl. I turn on the overhead lights. The room is a mess of unmade beds, wet sheets, and screens at crazy angles. Ronny's panda lies on the floor beside his cot. The graveyard-shift housekeepers come in. It is 12:05. It is a new day. (Zinsser 1984, 80)

These childcare centers offered a number of services which contributed to helping men and women stay on the job. To begin with, the provision of meals for children was a tremendous help to parents and previously unheard of; Dr. Stolz recalls: "youngsters would arrive at their Center with a pancake in hand,...or a slice of bologna. Their mothers couldn't conceive of a school that served whatever food the children needed," (Hymes 1978, 48,9). The food staff developed free booklets for parents entitled *Recipes for Food Children Like* and *Good Meals for Children on Swing Shift*. Other services of the centers included the "Special Service Room" for parents in need of short-term childcare. Dr. Hymes explains: "We had assumed at the beginning that children would come regularly, day after day, during the shift their mothers worked. Very soon it became apparent that some mothers needed help just for a day or so...So in January 1944 we opened the Special Service Room," (Hymes 1978, 51). The special service room enabled many fathers to work when they otherwise would have had to remain home due to an ill wife or other emergency (Hymes 1978, 52). The original plan was to care for two- through five-year-olds, but services were altered to include younger children when shipyard studies proved that many women needed care for children ages 18-to 24-months (Hymes 1978, 51). After starting operation, it also became apparent that public schools were frequently closed for various holidays. Recognizing this need, a school-age program was begun for children ages six through eight for holidays, weekends, and the summer months (Hymes 1995, 32). "(We had a) standard that we held very dear–that we would never turn a mother away," (Hymes 1995, 26).

Other services of the facilities included a biweekly newsletter describing the children's activities, free booklets with suggestions for toy-making, holiday activities, clothes-shopping ideas, and ways to discuss the war with children (Zinsser 1984, 80). Hymes developed a series of educational bulletins for teachers such as "Children Under Two," which were also used by parents (Takanishi 216,7). In February of 1944, the Home Service Food program began. By selecting from a weekly menu and ordering two days in advance, parents could pick up the family evening meal at the end of the day (Hymes 1978, 53). A seamstress was hired so that

mothers could leave items in need of mending (Takanishi, 219). There was also a commissary where parents could purchase toothbrushes, shoelaces, combs, and other necessary items as well as a library where parents could borrow children's books (Zinsser 1984, 80). Additional services considered included a shopping service where parents could leave orders for standard brands of food and household articles, a barber service for children, and a means of taking unposed pictures of the children at play. Teachers did take many pictures which were passed on to parents although formal photographers were never employed (Hymes 1978, 54).

As the war endured, staff at the centers received more and more requests for infant care. Stolz and Hymes considered using the first floor of one of the dormitory buildings as a nursery and the other floors as living quarters where the mothers could live and be with the baby at the end of the day and at night (Takanishi 213). Plans for the infant center included a community kitchen so that a sort of home-and-center environment could exist (Hymes 1978, 53). These services never were tried due to the end of the war and the subsequent closing of the Kaiser Child Service Centers.

The end result of building these fine Centers was that the opening day enrollment of sixty-seven at Oregonship and sixty-eight at Swan Island steadily rose to a peak attendance of 1,005 children on September 3, 1944 (between both facilities) (Hymes 1978, 48). The two centers cared for 3,811 different children over 249,268 childcare days, making a total of 1,931,827 woman-work hours possible (Hymes 1978, 55). The hours that the centers enabled women to work were sufficient to produce six Liberty ships (Takanishi 221).

Beyond the immediate war-related benefits of the Kaiser Centers there were long-standing contributions described by James Hymes and Lois Stolz in various interviews and articles. In her oral interview with Ruby Takanishi, Stolz says that she believed that the Kaiser Centers were the best children's centers in the United States during the war, which in itself was a contribution. "The material we sent out was useful to many. We had hundreds of visitors who came to see the Centers; that was an education for them. The people who were on the staff learned a great deal and made use of it as they went on in their professional lives. I think we made contributions to the families of the children, too, in their understanding of what was good for young children and how it could be offered," (Takanishi, 224). Dr. Stolz stated that the existence of the Kaiser Centers served to verify that some educator's new ideas were feasible. At a time when the prevailing opinion was that it was "terrible" to admit eighteen-month-olds into group childcare facilities, for example, the Kaiser Centers managed to do this quite well. "I think that...it has built confidence in people that such programs would be possible if we could manage to convince administrators and financers," (Takanishi, 221).

Dr. Hymes himself reflected that, "Although I have no concrete proof, it is my impression that the existence of the centers and the nationwide publicity that they received did a great deal to build in the country a greater acceptance of the notion of group child care as a needed and valuable social service. During the war, the pressure was on the employers who very much needed women. As the postwar years came along the pressure was felt by women...women who had become educated ...women who were eager, as the Kaiser women were, to get out into the wider world and meet more people...Child care had been an employer's need during the wartime years; child care became a mother's need in the postwar years. Looking back on the period, I think the Kaiser centers surely played some part in the growth of chains of child care centers, the growth of smaller, privately owned centers, and I think in the growth of Head Start," (Hymes 1995, 36,7).

While Dr. Hymes, Dr. Stolz, and the many additional degreed professionals made the Kaiser Centers a success, recognition must be made of those who were instrumental to its creation. The contributions of Edgar Kaiser and Eleanor Roosevelt forged the beginning of these centers. Eleanor Roosevelt had actively supported Harry Hopkins' work with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration during the Depression years, working to open schools that had been closed and to develop programs for children; caring for children and families in need was not new to her by the 1940s (Takanishi 204). The alliance between Edgar Kaiser and Mrs. Roosevelt may have begun due to the criticism of industry-based childcare that Kaiser initially received from social workers. Mr. Kaiser initially asked Portland to open more nursery schools for his workers in the community or at the site of the shipyards:

> They were not interested. The community did not ask for Lanham funds and some thought it would be terrible to have nursery schools at the shipyards. They compared this to what had gone on in the 19th century where children were exploited because the new industries needed women workers. On the other hand, they wouldn't take any initiative in expanding their own programs...it really got his dander up. I think, due to the criticism by the social workers...he made up his mind that he was going to have the best child care centers he could have. He went to Washington and talked with Mrs. Roosevelt about this. (Takanishi 203)

Eleanor Roosevelt was immediately interested in Mr. Kaiser's idea; in addition to her previous experience caring for families and children, she had recently returned from England and had witnessed the effectiveness of industry-sponsored childcare facilities. Believing such facilities to be a worthwhile cause, she turned to Vice-Admiral Land, chairman of the United States Maritime Commission under which the shipyards were working, and persuaded him to invest in childcare facilities for the shipyard site (Takanishi 203-4). "I'm not sure how many people on the Maritime Commission knew that they were the overall, official sponsors of these two beautiful centers for young children," Hymes writes. "But the top people of the Maritime Commission were proud. Hardly a week went by without Admiral Emory Land or other high-ranking officers coming by with visitors to proudly show off the centers," (Hymes 1995, 35). The food service, another invention of the English centers, was also initiated by Mrs. Roosevelt (Takanishi 207-8). Mrs. Roosevelt translated her commitment to families into support for the Kaiser Centers and proved herself instrumental to the centers' success (Zinsser 1984, 80).

Edgar Kaiser himself was a tremendous administrator, decisive and devoted to worthy endeavors. "Mr. Kaiser was an unusual man, and the company was an unusual company. It was a company used to working with professionals," (Takanishi 206-7). Edgar Kaiser chose professionals in order to execute tasks efficiently and with excellence; although he originally planned to staff the centers with women applying in the yards, he soon understood the cruciality of hiring educational professionals for the childcare centers as well. Once convinced, he sought the best qualified person in the country to lead the centers (Hymes 1995, 24). "Edgar Kaiser...who had begun by thinking that anyone could care for young children, ended up being unusually aware of the high quality of the staff and of the program. He showed very great interest and pride in the program at every turn," (Hymes 1995, 35). Aquariums full of "fascinating fish" were placed at the entrance of each center, and Mr. Kaiser regularly brought in fresh flowers from the launching luncheons. "You want people to like it here," Hymes quotes him as saying (Hymes 1995, 35). Further evidence of Kaiser's commitment to good childcare was evidenced through the thirty-six page color booklet produced and sent to 250 industries

throughout the United States. This booklet described the activities and programs of the childcare centers, how well the program had worked, and encouraged others to follow suit.

At the close of the war, Kaiser was aware of the difficulty teachers would have finding jobs during the middle of the school year and authorized twelve to eighteen of the best teachers to be hired and guaranteed employment for the duration of that school year. "He promised good jobs and good salaries so we could hold on to those good people. This was one of the most unusual and generous gestures that I've ever known an employer to make," (Hymes 1995, 35). In 1944, Edgar Kaiser was awarded the Parents' Magazine Medal for Outstanding Service to Children (Hymes 1978, 56). In Stolz's words, "Edgar Kaiser was an imaginative man. He was open minded and he certainly wanted the best. And, as I was to find out later, he was an excellent administrator, probably the best administrator under whom I have ever worked," (Takanishi 207).

The close of the war resulted in the close of the Kaiser Centers. Dr. Hymes endeavored to influence educators and politicians with the evidence of these centers; the Kaiser Centers proved to him that government and industry-financed programs for children afforded top quality programs: "It is very possible indeed...to have an excellent child care program. It only requires a lot of money, and it requires that the money be spent most of all on trained staff," (Hymes, 1976, 11). In addition to money and qualified staff, it seems there is the additional requirement of influential people, such as Edgar Kaiser and Eleanor Roosevelt, in political and business circles willing to support such facilities.

While future childcare facilities have not matched the family services and educational quality of the Kaiser Centers, this venture in professionalism lived on in the mind of Dr. Hymes for the remainder of his years. His first-hand experiences with other educators from across the United States and with professionals from the field of early childhood, medicine, and nutrition continued to influence his prolific literature, his sound teaching, and his educational ideas which he translated into sound educational practice for future leaders of early childhood programs.

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Analysis of Midwest School Attendance on the Eve of the Civil War: A Study of Washtenaw County, Michigan in 1860

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This essay analyses rates of school attendance in nineteenth-century America and focuses on Washtenaw County, Michigan in 1860. A significant amount of research has been done on antebellum school attendance in the eastern United States, especially Massachusetts, but less attention has been paid to other regions of the country. To provide a broad geographic and historical perspective, the paper begins with a discussion of national school attendance trends and then focuses on six Midwest states: Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, and Minnesota. Particular attention will be paid to educational trends in Michigan from 1840-1860. The bulk of the paper will be devoted to an in-depth, statistical analysis of school attendance in selected rural and urban communities in Washtenaw County (Michigan) in 1860. Through the use of statistical analyses, the importance of various factors, such as parental wealth and parental nativity, in determining school attendance will be examined. Comparisons with similar data for Essex County (Massachusetts) will be made to see how patterns of schooling in the Midwest may have differed from those in New England (Kaestle and Vinovskis 1980).

The general trends in school attendance during the middle part of the nineteenth century can be best seen by looking at regional as well as national rates. The highest rates are found in New England with just over 80 percent of those aged five through nineteen attending school in 1840; in the North Central region the rates are far lower, with about 30 percent attending school in 1840. By 1860, the rate in New England was still the highest, but the other regions of the country had gained ground B especially the North Central region where the rate had risen to about 70 percent (Vinovskis and Bernard 1973).

The gains made in the North Central region (Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan) deserve a closer look. Using data from the 1850 and 1860 censuses school attendance by sex can be determined. In 1850, male school attendance was highest in Michigan at 72 percent with most other states in the area trailing by at least ten percentage points and Minnesota lagging by 60 percentage points. By 1860 Michigan still had the highest rate at 74 percent but the other states in the region except Minnesota had narrowed the gap to within six percentage points (1850 U.S. Census 1853; 1860 U.S. Census 1864). A similar pattern was observed among women. Michigan women had the highest rates of attendance in both 1850 and 1860, at 68 and 71 percent respectively. By 1860 female attendance in the other states except Minnesota has moved to within ten percentage points of Michigan (1850 U.S. Census 1853; 1860 U.S. Census 1864).

While the rates of school attendance are important, of equal interest is the debate over when and under what circumstances the rise in school attendance in the nineteenth century occurred. There are two major interpretations of the rise of schooling in the nineteenth century. One theory was proposed by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis in their book, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (Bowles and Gintis 1976). They argued that the rise of school attendance began in the 1840s and 1850s and was due to the rise of manufacturing capitalism and urbanization. The leadership for increased schooling, they contended, "was without exception in the hands of a coalition of professionals and capitalists from the leading sectors of the economy" (Bowles and Gintis 1976, 178-179). Bowles and Gintis further suggested that manufacturing capitalism and the need for more docile workers led to the growth of public schools.

Another position that contrasts with Bowles and Gintis was put forth by Maris Vinovskis and others. He found that the rise of schooling in Massachusetts occurred in 1820s and 1830s, earlier than was suggested by Bowles and Gintis. In addition, most of the overall national rise in school attendance occurred in places where manufacturers played only a small role in the local economy and politics. As a result, increased school attendance could not have been due to the rise of manufacturing capitalism because it occurred in the 1820s and 1830s and in rural areas of the United States such as the North Central Region (Vinovskis 1983).

A number of authors have also considered what could enhance or deter school attendance. Carl Kaestle (1983) pointed out that the rates of school attendance could be influenced by the nationality of the parents, but the pattern was not consistent: it varied by immigrant group and where they were living. Even so some patterns could be discerned. Irish Catholics were skeptical of Protestant common schools, and Germans and Norwegians were reluctant to send their children to common schools as well. The result, in some cases, was that immigrant parents kept their children out of the common schools in order to learn in their native tongue in newly created religious schools. (See also Galenson 1995)

Wealth of the parents was also a factor in school attendance. Stephan Thernstrom (1964) suggested that parental need for money pushed lower-class children out of school sooner than those whose parents were wealthy. He noted that higher paying jobs, those that he considered to be white collar, were open mainly to those students who stayed in school longer and received more education. He suggested that those who stayed in school longer could only do so because their parents could afford to keep them in school. Later work disputed some of the specific claims made about school attendance by Thernstrom, but the value of wealth as a predictor of school attendance has not been challenged (Vinovskis 1985). Despite the fact that debate over the nature of wealth and nationality as predictors still continues, they will provide a useful framework for analyzing data from Washtenaw County, MI (Parkerson and Parkerson 1998, 54-56).

Having grounded this discussion of school attendance in the national and regional patterns during the 1840s to 1860s as well as some of the positions on the rise of school attendance, some background on the educational opportunities in Washtenaw County might be helpful. Washtenaw County was established in 1826 while Michigan was still a territory. Located in the southeastern part of the state of Michigan, the county was initially larger than its current size as it included areas that later became parts of surrounding counties. By 1860, there were two moderately sized cities, Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, in the county, but otherwise it was largely rural; the county had a strong agricultural base and a population of 35,000. Another feature of the county was the presence of the University of Michigan, which moved to Ann Arbor in 1837; the State Normal School in Ypsilanti, which was opened in 1852, also contributed to the growth of the county. This study focuses on the city of Ann Arbor and the rural townships of Pittsfield, Lodi, and Scio. In 1860, Ann Arbor had a population of just over 5,000 while Pittsfield and Lodi had populations of just over 1300 each; and Scio had a population of just over 1800 (Bureau of the Census 1864; Marwil 1990).

For Washtenaw County in 1860, the overall rate of school attendance for children aged five through nineteen was 71 percent. When data for the rural and urban areas are examined separately, similar rates of school attendance are found. The rate for Ann Arbor was 70 percent; and the combined rate for Lodi, Scio, and Pittsfield was 73 percent. To tease out some of the relationships between school attendance and other census information, various cross-tabulations were run: age of child, sex of child, and three factors relating to the parents–nativity (including those missing a parent), wealth and employment were crossed with school attendance.

First, let us look at the data on school attendance by the age of the children. When the rate of school attendance for each successive age is displayed, a very interesting pattern emerges. There is a rapid rise in school attendance for those in the early years, a period of fairly steady attendance in the middle years, and then a steep drop in attendance by the older children. This pattern in Washtenaw County allows for the construction of an analytical framework for school attendance based upon these age-groups. From the data, it appears that the age range of five to six can be viewed as the period of school entry. Ages seven through fourteen can be seen as the period of nearly full schooling, when attendance was above 85 percent. From fifteen through nineteen years of age can be designated as the period of school leaving. Using these three broad age-groupings, this paper will focus on the various factors which affect entering, full attendance, and school leaving. The school-leaving age-group will be the most closely examined because the reasons which cause students to leave school and enter the labor force are particularly interesting.

This framework is similar to what was developed by Kaestle and Vinovskis in their study of Essex County, Massachusetts. They also examined three age-periods of schooling. The changing patterns of early schooling were analyzed, highlighting the rise and fall of the infant schools in the 1830s and 1840s and the subsequent introduction of kindergartens in the 1870s. The high rates of school attendance for eight- through twelve-year-olds in Essex County were also studied. The third age-group, with which they were most concerned, was defined as the school-leaving period, and included all children aged thirteen through nineteen. Because children started leaving school earlier in Essex County than in Washtenaw County, they used age thirteen as the beginning of the school-leaving period, while age fifteen will be employed in this study (Kaestle and Vinovskis 1980, 72-73).

Having divided the school-age children into three groups, (school entry, school attendance and school leaving), it is possible to group the results observed accordingly. During the period of school entry there was a steep increase school attendance. What might explain this pattern of attendance? The arrival of infant schools in the 1830s and 1840s encouraged parents to send their young children to school. But as Robert Tank (1980) notes in his study of Michigan, educators began to believe that it was better if children stayed at home until age five. By 1860 it seems that the prevailing wisdom was that children should start school at age five and that appears to have happened in Washtenaw County (kindergartens did not make an appearance in Michigan until the 1870s)

During the period of school attendance (seven to fourteen), nearly all children in this age range were attending school (over 90 percent attendance). That being said only the lack of a parent comes even close to being a hindrance to school attendance. Those without a parent had a 40 percent attendance rate. This somewhat high rate of school attendance suggests that, of the factors considered, there were no serious hindrances to school attendance. In short, between the ages of five and fourteen, any child with both parents in the house is likely to be in school as the overall attendance rate was 86 percent. Even those missing a parent were in school at relatively high rates as well.

In Essex County, Kaestle and Vinovskis found a similar pattern of school attendance in these age groups: rapid rises in attendance early on and nearly universal attendance in the middle period. That such high rates were reached in both Michigan and Massachusetts suggests that schooling was not only accepted in both places, but that it was not tied to such factors as capitalism or urbanization, as was suggested by Bowles and Gintis and others, because these factors were certainly largely absent in Washtenaw County in 1860. The age limits of the entry and leaving periods, however, are not identical for Essex and Washtenaw Counties. The rates of school attendance in Essex County

were highest for the ages of eight through twelve, while in Washtenaw County the rates were highest for the ages of seven through fourteen. Yet, the important point is that while the age ranges may be a little different in the two places, the basic pattern of an initial period of school entry and subsequent period of nearly universal attendance is the same.

Once children reached the early teen years they began to leave school, and the rate of departure increased as they became older. The most significant factor that affects school leaving is increasing age. That is, the older Washtenaw County children became, the more likely they were to leave school. This accounts for the dramatic drop in school attendance. By the end of the school-leaving period, the overall rate of school attendance had dropped from 88 percent at age fourteen to 22 percent at age nineteen. This decline may be due to a number of factors, but one of the more likely ones could be the need to enter the work force to help support themselves or their families.

In Washtenaw County the rates of school attendance were within five percentage points of each other for both females and males in the school-entering and full-schooling periods. Then both rates plummet. Attendance drops off more quickly for females and the sizable drop-off starts a year earlier than for males. That is, the rate of female school attendance at age eighteen is about equal to that of male school attendance at age nineteen. Thus, by age nineteen females have the lower rates of school attendance (eighteen percent) compared to males (27 percent). These results are unexpected because one might have thought that male attendance rates would have dropped more quickly than females, due to young men's need to enter the labor force to support themselves or their families. Yet males remain in school at rather high rates. It is possible that women are leaving earlier because women's education was not seen as important or possibly they left school to get married.

Kaestle and Vinovskis found that over half of the children ages thirteen through nineteen were not in school in their eight Essex County communities. But, unlike the situation in Washtenaw County, females were slightly more apt to be in school than males. By age nineteen, only eleven percent of females and seven percent of males in Essex County were still in schools, compared to eighteen percent of females and 27 percent of males in school in Washtenaw County. This is an interesting result which points to the general high interest in education in Washtenaw County (Kaestle and Vinovskis 1980, 256-257).

Washtenaw County school attendance rates can be further analyzed by dividing them into rural and urban. School attendance rates drop off faster for urban school children than for rural school children. By the age of nineteen the rates of school attendance for rural children (31 percent) are double the rates for urban children (fifteen percent). The reason that the rates for urban school attendance drop off so quickly may be due to the greater availability of jobs in the city. Not only are city youth more likely to obtain jobs, but perhaps some rural youth specifically migrated to urban areas in order to work, thereby depressing the school attendance rates in those cities. One of the interesting findings was that urban children were more likely to be in school in their early years than their later years.

School attendance during the later teen years is very strongly affected by the absence of a parent in the household. The absence of a parent might mean that one or both of them have died. Yet it might also mean that the parents are alive, but that the teenager has moved away from their household, perhaps to live as a boarder or lodger somewhere else in order to get a better job. The attendance figures used here refer to those children who actually were missing a parent and exclude those cases where the child might have been a boarder. Children missing a parent in the household have very low levels of school attendance. Those without a mother leave school more often than those without a father. Females without a mother exhibit one of the lowest rates of school

attendance seen in this study; males without a parent, regardless of which one, have a higher rate of school attendance than females who are in a similar situation. These results fit with the overall pattern that has been observed among males and females in Washtenaw County. Nevertheless, the low rates for females in Michigan were still surprising because males had been expected to leave school in greater numbers. Furthermore, one might have expected rates of school leaving to have been even higher for those without a father. Even so, the rates of school attendance for those missing either a mother or father are below 15 percent.

Those Washtenaw County children with a native mother or native father had the highest attendance rates in the school-leaving period. They were attending schools at rates between 65 and 70 percent. Of children with either an immigrant father or mother, those with German parentage had the highest rate of school attendance, between 50 and 55 percent (which is fairly high considering what other authors have suggested about the negative influences of having immigrant parents) (Kaestle 1983, 161-166). The lowest rates of school attendance were found among those in the school-leaving period who had at least one English parent. Those rates are around 45-50 percent, which is still quite high. This suggests that immigrant parentage is not as strong a deterrent to school attendance as expected, especially when compared to Essex County. Kaestle and Vinovskis found that those Essex County children with immigrant parents were much less likely to be in school possibly because those children may have been forced to leave school to help provide for the family. Essex County parents from Germany and Ireland may also have been reluctant to send their children to public schools because of the Protestant leanings of the common school education (Kaestle and Vinovskis 1980, 181). What could explain the reverse results seen in Washtenaw County? It is not exactly clear, though one possible explanation could be that there was a particularly strong belief in the value of education among immigrants within the county.

Further interesting details about school attendance can be ascertained by examining how parental wealth affects it, especially during the school-leaving period. As might be expected, those with very little wealth could not afford to have their older children attend school. Children whose parents were in the lowest wealth bracket ($0-$199) had extremely low attendance rates of nine percent. The rates are higher for children whose parents were in the next highest wealth bracket ($200-$1499), but still below fifty percent. Those children whose parents were in the second highest wealth bracket ($1500-$5499) had an attendance rate of two-thirds in the school-leaving period. The highest school attendance rates are found, not surprisingly, among children whose parents are in the highest wealth bracket (5500+). Those children had a 75 percent school attendance rate.

The changes that occurred from the period of full school attendance to the school-leaving period were the largest in the lower wealth brackets. That is, the drop off in attendance rate was greatest in the lower wealth brackets. The result is that lower amounts of wealth held by a child's parents had an adverse effect on school attendance rates and increased the likelihood that the child would leave school early.

While it is clear that those children whose parents had little wealth were less likely to be in school, what about those children whose parents were in low-skilled occupations? One might expect that they too would be equally likely to leave school early. To address this issue the parental occupations were grouped into the following six categories: professional, low white collar/proprietary, skilled, unskilled, laborer, and farming. These divisions are based on the occupational categories developed by Theodore Hershberg and Robert Dockhorn (Hershberg and Dockhorn 1976, 90-98). Parental occupation is defined as the occupation given in the census for the male or female head of household (as long as the head is one of the parents). The highest rates of

school attendance in the school-leaving period are about 70 percent and are found for those whose parents fall in the occupational categories of professional or farming.

The children of farmers have unusually high rates of school attendance. One would expect a somewhat lower rate of school attendance because these children may have been needed to help out on the farm. Yet even though this rate of attendance is high it is important to consider that the students may not have been in school full-time, spending part of the year working on the family farm. The 1860 census only reports whether or not children had attended school during the past year, not how long they had been in school (Thernstrom 1963, 23). So while the high rate of schooling is surprising, the rate of attendance observed probably does not equal full time attendance (this is true for all occupational groups and not just farmers).

The other occupational categories had varying degrees of school attendance. Children living in households without a parental occupation, including those who are no longer living with their parents, had a school attendance rate of 58 percent, which is higher than was expected. Those in this group who were not attending school might have been helping support the family or living by themselves. Those on their own would find it necessary to make their own way. On the other hand, the high attendance figure suggests that there was sti' a strong emphasis on schooling even among the lower strata of Washtenaw County society. The figures for the unskilled category are higher than might be expected (67 percent), but may not be statistically reliable because there are only 11 cases where the parent's occupation was classified as unskilled.

Those in the low white collar/proprietary category had a school attendance rate of 66 percent in the school-leaving period. The lowest rate among those with an occupation were the children of laborers, who had only a 28 percent school attendance rate. Those in the skilled category had a school attendance rate of just under 50 percent. What becomes clear from these statistics is that those children whose parents are in low skilled occupations are more likely to leave school early.

How do these findings compare to what occurred in Essex County? One of the biggest factors contributing to the low rates of school attendance among children aged thirteen through nineteen in Essex County was the greater availability of employment in the cities. This is unlike Washtenaw County which was not as industrialized as Essex County; and indeed, the county was still fairly rural outside of Ann Arbor. Urban children in Essex County were more inclined to seek employment than to stay in school. There were a variety of occupations open to children in those eastern cities. Males often worked in factories and females were usually employed in housework, book-keeping, or as mill operatives. In the rural Essex County setting, both males and females were often put to work seasonally on the family farm. The result is that children in rural areas could work part time and stay in school part time, whereas this was more difficult in urban areas where occupations tended to be year-round (Kaestle and Vinovskis 1980, 77-80). Thus, the wealth level and the occupation of the parents had a strong effect on the rates of school attendance observed among their children in Essex County.

While we do not have more detailed information on the occupational structure and opportunities for communities in Washtenaw County, there is every reason to believe that the general factors operating in Essex County occurred here as well. However, the nature of the specific employment opportunities probably differed somewhat, as Essex County was substantially more industrialized than Washtenaw County in 1860.

In conclusion, this study found that the strongest predictor of school leaving was the advancing age of the child. Parental nativity was not nearly as strong a factor as it was in Essex County. The absence of a parent was a serious impediment to school attendance B especially in the

school leaving years. Low wealth correlated with low school attendance in the school leaving period. Those whose parents were in higher skilled and white-collar occupations were more likely to be in school. The children of farmers exhibited a high attendance rate–nearly as high as for the children of white-collar workers.

The most striking finding here is the very high rate of overall school attendance. In general, education was a valued activity for all levels of society and for both males and females. The results of this study match fairly closely the pattern school attendance described by Kaestle and Vinovskis in their 1980 book although the rise occurs later than in Essex Co. The high rates observed in Michigan may be due in part to the transference of New England values, brought by those who came west from areas such as Massachusetts and New York. But the high rates of schooling in this largely rural area seem inconsistent with what has been suggested by Bowles and Gintis since the manufacturing component they focus on is almost totally absent in Washtenaw County. In general, these results match what was found in Essex County–though with a few interesting variations. It is important to note that this study is only a starting point and much more research needs to be done to learn why school attendance was so high in Midwest states such as Michigan.

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The Effect of Enlightenment Thinking and Early Nineteenth Century Imagery on Twentieth Century Views of American Indians

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In spite of the fact that European-Americans had more than two centuries of experience with American Indians and their cultures by the early nineteenth century, they were stereotyped as either untutored denizens of the forest or noble savages. While neither of these notions was accurate, they are the lasting images that have survived even to this day by virtue of: 1) the literature and art of the times; 2) the legend-making that made heroes of "Indian fighters"; 3) the stories of the U. S. Army and their later clashes with American Indians of the Northern and Southern Plains; and 4) the American film industry and the trade books used in American elementary schools. These hundreds of films and other visual and printed materials depicting the original citizens of North America have influenced generations of American schoolchildren.

The stereotypes that have emerged from these sources were so pervasive that they continued to light up the movie and television screens, cover some of our monetary coins, and serve as mascots for team sports across the twentieth century. Uncovering the sources of these stereotypes will be part of the purpose of this paper. The second purpose will be to trace their development in the ideas of American Enlightenment thinkers, such as Benjamin Rush and Thomas Jefferson. The final purpose will be to illustrate some of the stereotypical portrayals that continued throughout the twentieth century.

Origins of Indians Stereotype

The term "Indian," dates back to 1493 when Columbus referred to the natives that he encountered, as "Los Indios." He was using a single term to describe more than two thousand cultures and societies that held different values, practiced different customs, and spoke different languages. The term was not one that any of these peoples used to describe themselves. Yet, in his journal, Columbus described people from all islands as having "no great diversity" in their appearance or "in their manners and language."[1] From his descriptions of the "Caribbean Cannibals" came other generalizations such as: "wearing their hair long like women" and using "bows and arrows" in a ferocious manner against more docile groups (Jane and Vigneras 1960, 200). Descriptions from Amerigo Vespucci (1504-05) reinforced the hostile and depraved condition of Indians culture (Berkhofer 1979, 3). With the advent of the printing press these images permeated Spanish literature, and compared with concepts of European civilization, these "Indians" were judged to be inferior. Thus, as Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. points out, "To the extent that this conception denies or misrepresents the social, linguistic, cultural, and other differences among the peoples so labeled, it lapses into stereotype" (Berkhofer 1979, 3).

English and French encounters with the native peoples merely affirmed these stereotypes as against the same criterion of European civilization, they also found them wanting. The native peoples encountered by the French and English had societies perceived to be less complex than the Aztecs and Incas with whom the Spanish had contacted. Hence, the term "wild" and "savage" became

1 Of course, Columbus had no knowledge of the number and diversity of peoples who eventually thereby were named, but even when he made his off-hand remark naming American natives, he already had visited a number of different groups and failed to recognize differences such as language.

synonymous with "Indian." The French used the term savage which they defined as "'a marvelously strange wild and brutish people, without faith, without law, without religion and without civility'" (Berkhofer 1979, 14.)

The English continued to use "Indian," but to them it meant the same thing as "savage" did to the French. Other terms used were, infidel, heathen, and barbarian—terms derived from religious and civil contexts. While there was some ambivalence in the English images of Indians—from one of Indian hospitality to one of Indian conflict—the latter view prevailed. By 1613, Virginian minister, Alexander Whitaker used the more favorable image to argue that they were capable of being converted to Christianity. The negative characteristics were attributed to what "their master the divell teacheth to them" (Berkhofer 1979, 19).

Perpetuation of the Image in the Enlightenment

While thinkers in the Age of Reason criticized many of the basic tenets of Christianity, they still maintained a belief in the Old Testament's explanation of the age of the earth and human existence. The major break with the Christian tradition was found in the idea that human beings had the power to understand the universe and cultural societies without the help of divine revelation. With the explosion of science came a new concept of nature as a system of laws that were permanent and unchanging and capable of being known and understood through reason. Carl von Linne's 1735 anthropological descriptions of the peoples of the world included five classifications: Americans, Europeans, Asians, Africans and a classical Homo Sapiens Americanus version of persons that he found in the travel literature of the New World conquerors (cited in Berkhofer, 1979). "Indians" were put into this fifth category and were described as:

reddish, choleric, erect;
Hair black, straight, thick;
Nostrils wide; Face
freckled; Chin beardless
persevering, content, free
Paints himself with skillful red lines;
Governed by custom.

White Europeans, on the other hand, were described by von Linne as wearing "tailored clothes," exhibiting an "easygoing, active, ingenious nature," and governed by laws (40-41).

The discovery in France of Victor, the Wild Boy of Aveyron, led Rousseau and other philosophers to compare him to American Indians. Out of this comparison came the cult of the Noble Savage so popular in France on the eve of their revolution. As Berkhofer points out, they used "the Noble Savage in general and the American Indian in particular for their critical moral and political purposes (75). The civilized French political institutions were corrupt because they were unnatural. However, once the American and French Revolutions were over, the usefulness of the Noble Savage metaphor as a symbol of the natural social contract faded. In America, it was replaced by a more romantic Puritanical image of Indians as personifying the struggle between God and Satan. When Indians befriended the early Puritan settlers, it was God's hand at work; when the Puritans fought them, they were tools of Satan. In their histories Puritans showed themselves as the chosen people, just like the Jews in the Old Testament. Thus, Cotton Mather wrote, "I do, with all conscience of Truth, required therein by Him, who is the Truth itself, Report the Wonderful Displays of His Infinite Power, Wisdom, Goodness, and Faithfulness, wherewith His Divine Providence hath

Irradiated an Indian Wilderness (Miller and Johnson 1938, 163), indicating, perhaps, that the Pequots with whom they interacted were placed on earth for the purpose of serving the needs of the Puritans.

American Founding Fathers and Indians

When it came to American Indians, Enlightenment ideas influenced American patriots such as Benjamin Rush and Thomas Jefferson. Generally, ideas about the human species followed cosmological principles that regarded characteristics of the various species as fixed, and permanent. However, since there were so many races of human beings, the notion of "varieties" was put forth as an explanation for differences from the initial creation. Environmentalism, as it was called, explained human diversity, so that polygenetics could be avoided. Therefore, the conventional wisdom of the time held that Indians had developed into a special variety as a result of their different social and physical environments. As the President of the College of New Jersey, Samuel Stanhope Smith, noted in an essay on the "Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure on the Human Species:"

> The [American] Indian[sic] of North-America presents to us man completely savage, but obliged by the nature of the forest which he inhabits, and the variable temperature of the heaven under which he lives, as well as by the enemies with which he is surrounded, to employ both courage and address, for his subsistence and his defence. He is of savages, therefore, the most noble, in whom the inaided powers of human nature appear with greater dignity than among those rude tribes who either approach nearer to the equator, or farther removed towards the poles (Jordan 1965, 215).

Another naturalist of the eighteenth century, Comte de Buffon, continued to outline the deficiencies of the "peoples native to the Americas" when he described them as lacking in acute sensations, cowardly, and timid. He went on to state that Indians have:

> no vivacity, no activity or mind. The activity of the body is not so much an exercise of spontaneous motion, as a necessary action produced by want. Destroy his appetite for victuals and drink, and you will at once annihilate the active principle of all his movements; he remains, in stupid repose, on his limbs or couch for whole days. . . . They have been refused the most precious spark of Nature's fire. They have no ardour for women and, of course, no love of mankind. [Therefore,] their other sensations of this nature are cold and languid. The bonds of the most intimate of all societies, that of the same family, are feeble, and one family has no attachment to another. Hence no union, no republic, no social state, can take place among the morality of their manners. Their heart is frozen, their society is cold and, their empire cruel. (Ghinard 1947, 31).

Environmentalism also fit well with the Lockean notion of learning through the senses. In this manner psychological or mental processes became a function of the environment (Berkhofer 1979, 40-41).

Environmentalism and Benjamin Rush's View of the American Indian

This explanation of "varieties" within a monogenetic definition of species gave early White Christian colonists the needed interpretation for the racial differences that they thought they were witnessing in their experiences with the American Indian. Founding Father and signer of the Declaration of Independence, and friend of Thomas Jefferson, Dr. Benjamin Rush was a believer in this explanation. Educated in Edinburgh Scotland where he was introduced to the Scottish Enlightenment ideals of David Hume and University of Edinburgh theologian and President, William

Robertson, Rush was a scientist, a realist, a utilitarian, a patriot, and a Christian who thought the Bible should be used as a school text. Rush summarized this view in the following comment: "Human nature is the same in all Ages and Countries; and all differences we perceive in its characters in respect to Virtue and Vice, Knowledge and Ignorance, may be accounted for from Climate, Country, Degrees of Civilization, from Government, or other accidental causes" (Corner 1948, 42.).

In matters of gender and the education of women, Rush was ahead of his times, but when it came to his views of Indians, he supported the stereotypical view, and he thought his medical training and knowledge led him to these conclusions. He accepted the religious-scientific blend so characteristic of earlier Scottish Enlightenment thought. Thus, he was convinced that Christianity provided the guidelines for a happy life on earth, and he thought morality could be studied as a science. Because his method was a fusion of observation and theological metaphysics, he used these theological interpretations to explain the moral virtues and living habits of Indians.

With regard to the indigenous peoples of North America, Rush believed that they revealed lower moral development. He attributed this to the combined effects of climate, hunger and diet—a vegetarian one was preferable to an animal one—drinking habits, solitude, physical labor, and cleanliness. With Indians, in particular, Rush concluded that the combined effects had led to a group "who whet their appetites for that savage species of war, which is peculiar to them," because they were hungry too much of the time and fond of fishing and hunting to relieve this condition. At the same time he noted, "the highest praise that can be given to an Indian is to say that 'he is a great warrior.'" Yet, he thought that they were lazy, holding "laborious occupations in contempt," making it the "exclusive business of their women" (Corner 1948, 73).

He supported his own experiences with Indians, with observations from others. For instance, while attending to the health of mathematician and surveyor, Andrew Ellicott who had just returned form measuring Niagara Falls, Rush relates that Ellicott saw many Indians on his trip "whom he heartily despised for fraud, lying, and drunkenness" (Corner 1948, 180).

In summary, environmentalism and a theological metaphysics led Rush to conclude that Indian culture promoted the following moral traits: uncleanliness, nastiness, drunkenness, gluttony, treachery, cruelty, idleness and theft. He said that his conclusions came from his own observations and "from conversations with persons of veracity who have resided among them." To dissuade those who thought the silent manner of Indians to be a virtue or sign of intelligence, he admonished that "in nine cases out of ten, [taciturnity] is the effect of stupidity, [because] Ideas, whether acquired from books, or by reflection, produce a plethora in the mind, which can only be relieved by depletion from pen or tongue," and which were not evident in Indians culture (Meranze, 1988, 151). Here, then, are the elements of the stereotype. While Jefferson is remembered more for championing Indians cause, publicly, his private thoughts were not so positive. As Berkhofer points out, his support had more to do with countering the environmentalists, such as Buffon, who saw the new world as an inferior one in both flora and fauna.

Thomas Jefferson and American Indians

Thomas Jefferson, the defender of freedom and "voice of the Enlightenment in North America" had public and private views of American Indian people. His public views seemed to be understanding and generous but his private views, as found in his personal correspondence, were more revealing of his knowledge of American Indian groups. This knowledge and attitude seemed to be exposed in a private letter to a Colonel Hawkins wherein he stated:

I consider the business of hunting as already become insufficient to furnish clothing and subsistence to the Indians. The promotion of agriculture, therefore, and household manufacture, are essential in their preservation, and I am disposed to aid and encourage it liberally. This will enable them to live on much smaller portions of land...(Washington 1856, 464-472)

Jefferson was rationalizing the seizure of American Indian land and seems to have decided that all American Indians were denizens of the forest and members of hunter societies. It, of course, was true that many American Indian groups were indeed hunters but it is clear that most, by far, already were agrarian and had great skills and knowledge about crop production. Indeed, the anthropologist Paul Radin has documented that North American native people already were primarily nations of farmers. Radin asserts that in the 17th Century, less than five percent of the native groups were food gatherers, fifteen percent were hunters and fishers and ten percent were pastoral nomads. The rest, approximately seventy percent, were agriculturists. Further, in terms of total population, the percent of non-agriculturists was much smaller (Radin, 1953). Of course, it is probably true that all American Indians hunted, but clearly only a small percent relied upon this as a primary source of food and wherewithal.

Nevertheless, Jefferson's understanding of American Indian people seemed to be shared by subsequent United States officials who either by their actions or writing expressed an understanding of American Indian people as a whole that was really representative of only a few. For example, John C. Calhoun, President James Monroe's Secretary of War, made his understanding of North American natives known in a speech to Congress on December 8, 1818.

Calhoun's perceptions were of people who were uncivilized, warlike and savage who occupied lands that the United States wanted. Specifically, Calhoun, after giving them dubious credit for their "state of most perfect independence" wherein they "drew a scanty but (for them) a sufficient supply from the soil, the water, and the forest" he went on to rationalize that: "A great change has since taken place, such as appears to be inevitable by a fixed law of nature, in the intercourse between a civilized and savage people." (Lowrie ed. 1834, 181)

Calhoun's commentary only served to justify the continued quest to acquire land occupied by American Indians for the United States by any means necessary, actually in continuance of the leadership of Jefferson who in 1791 advocated sending troops to give them a "thorough drubbing" following which he suggested that our "tomahawk" be changed "into a golden chain of friendship." Jefferson also advocated another policy followed by his successors when he said that, "the most economical as well as most humane conduct towards them is to bribe them into peace, and to retain them in peace by eternal bribes" (Washington III, 1856).

These are only examples of the words used by American leaders to describe their self-described foes. In fact, there probably were more examples of compassion on the parts of North American natives than savagery. If American Indian people were as savage as they are described, Columbus may never have returned to Europe to exploit those he found on that Caribbean island.

Glorification of "Indian Fighters" and Soldiers

An important purveyor of American Indian stereotypes in the 20th Century was the American film industry. This 20th Century invention has served to promote two contradictory views of American Indian women according to Devon Mihesuah (1996). Filmdom has recreated them as either "ugly, dirty, subservient, abused "squaws" who loved to torture white men" or "beautiful, exotic princesses, often Chiefs' daughters usually willing to leave their people to marry dashing Europeans." Men also are portrayed in contradictory terms, as old wizened elders who recognize

when they have been beaten or young, wild and uncontrollable warriors seeking to take as many scalps as possible. And, even in more modern films we find American Indian men and women portrayed almost exclusively as either wizened elders or as being victims of social ills, downtrodden and alcoholic.

It is an unfortunate reality that the film and television image of Indians have been created through the imaginations of white directors and actors. Indians seen in the old Saturday night westerns of television or the Saturday afternoon matinees, depending on your age, were nearly always white actors made up to represent their imagined Indians. Recent attempts at authenticity have fallen short with a good example of this being the film entitled "Dances with Wolves" wherein the main character, a white man, falls in love with a white woman who had been captured by the tribe and "out-Indians" the Indians in order to gain acceptance. Another recent example wherein the same old themes have been used, and not even updated, was the cartoon "Pocohontas" where, again, the brave white soldier is saved by the Indian "princess" who was willing to betray her own people for the love of this man.

They Died with their Boots On was an earlier attempt to make a hero of George Armstrong Custer, an Army officer whose claim to fame was the murder of women and children in a surprise attack on a community of people consisting mostly of women, children and elderly folks left behind while the young men were on a hunting expedition. It is hard to believe that even this man has been glorified in American filmdom. In order to make a hero of one person, in this case, it was required to make a savage of others. But there is no need to discuss the reality of the event portrayed as the point to be made here is that this movie is only one of dozens, perhaps hundreds, that left lasting images in the minds of American children who are now today's adults and who do not understand the objections to the Washington Redskins and the Cleveland Indians. These are but a few examples of the stereotypical Indian in 20th Century filmdom.

Presidents of the United States have claimed fame as "Indian fighters" including the "Father of our Country," George Washington and William Henry Harrison who referred to "a few wretched savages" (Gunderson, R. G., 2000). Another example is Theodore Roosevelt who is alleged to have referred to North American native people as "squalid savages" (Trachetenberg, A., 1998). Others such as President and General Andrew Jackson tried for several years to defeat the Seminoles and ultimately did cause the removal of them and others to the West. Together with General Phillip Sheridan who said, "The only good Indians I ever saw were dead," these men, among others, would today be called "opinion leaders" due to their influence on the thinking of others. Certainly their attitudes and pronouncements had a strong effect on those who heard them speak and who were the recipients of their missives and directives. There is no doubt that their public and private stereotyping of North American native people influenced the understanding of unknown thousands. There likewise is no doubt that their influence did not end with their own demise. Their words live on and find themselves repeated in movies, school books and in sports venues.

Official Stereotyping

Negative imagery is everywhere, including the halls of Congress. One who has visited in our nation's capital may have noticed the frieze that encircles the base of the Capitol dome and other art that, in some cases, depict conflict between American natives and American newcomers. Scenes in the frieze and elsewhere in the Capital Rotunda show native subservience and depicts combat in works such as America and History, William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, Conflict of Daniel Boone and the Indians, Preservation of Captain Smith by Pocahontas, and Death of Tecumseh.

Clearly, images of American Indian people as either simple savages or enemies of Americans easily might be evoked from this imagery. These works of art placed in such a significant location in the halls of our government no doubt are capable of leaving a lasting impression on those citizens and others who visit our nation's capital hoping to gain a sense of American history and heritage. These are significant examples of visual representations that have the potential for creating a less than flattering image of American Indians to other Americans. Additionally, in the National Gallery of Art hang many paintings by the American artist, George Catlin, whose main claim to fame is that he traveled among different American Indian groups to sketch his views of American Indian people and their cultures. The operative words here are "his views."

Catlin was an attorney who gave up that career to spend his life painting Indians, ostensibly because his mother was once captured by them. His paintings are considered important works of "Americana." They are interpreted by some as representations of American Indians, because the artist had determined "to devote his career to painting Indians in their native land and he spent the rest of his life championing their cause" (Catlin, G. n.d.). It is, therefore, unfortunate that some of his paintings could be regarded as a source of stereotyping due to the "wildness" and savagery depicted in actions and expressions in his subjects. Whether or not Catlin actually intended for this imagery to emerge is irrelevant as it is clear to the objective observer that a stereotypical message is being given despite his intent to "champion their cause."

In fairness to the official art of our nation's capital, the Hall of Statuary has two sculptures that represent individuals of whom American Indian people may truly be proud. They are the Oklahoma contributions to the Hall and are statues of Will Rogers and Sequoyah. These are stereotypes of which Indian people could be proud, but unfortunately, they are not the ones that are prevalent in our society.

Contemporary scholars did not create the stereotypes about which we speak, but they might just be the people who are best equipped to mitigate against their continued influence. Literature used in our schools continue to be unfortunate purveyors of stereotypes it appeârs. Elementary schoolchildren are exposed to award winning books such as the Matchlock Gun, a Newberry Medal winner (Edmonds 1942). This book, available to American schoolchildren for more than fifty years, portrays American Indians as savages who attack women and children and who suffer death due to the action of heroic children. Illustrations are of skulking Indians sneaking upon a defenseless cabin and burning other buildings. This hardly seems appropriate for American schoolchildren unless it is our purpose to incite their sensibilities against those whom they only know as Indians. The language in the book intends to create the image of Indians as creatures to be feared due to their treachery and their intent to make war on defenseless children

Books used by older children include the well-known Little House on the Prairie by Laura Ingalls Wilder (1953). This is another book replete with negative imagery and references. The book detailing the adventures of the Ingalls family takes place on the open prairie where the family is in constant fear of encountering "wild Indians." Caroline, the mother constantly makes negative references to Indians calling them savages and teaching the children that they are bad. During their travels, Laura expresses her desire to see a "papoose" whereupon Caroline scolds her saying she will see enough Indians without having to wish for it. Laura asks her mother why she disliked Indians and was told, "I just don't like them." There are references to "two naked wild men" who were "tall, thin, fierce-looking men" with eyes that "were black and still and glittering, like snake's eyes and on and on (Wilder 1953, 134).

These are only examples of the literature found in our classrooms which contribute to the

misunderstanding of America's original citizens. More than that, they foster prejudice and discrimination. They create false images of an entire race of people that justifies the lack of concern, the question of their belonging, and even the question of their rights as Americans. One can only hope that we will begin to understand the impact on people of the simple things that surround us. One can only hope that the realization of the impact of these stereotypes that have infiltrated the popular culture in various ways can be understood better by future generations than the present. Perhaps then, we will see American Indian people as people who are contributing citizens in this democratic nation and not as mascots for athletic teams and objects of derision in popular novels and movies.

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The Struggle to Reshape the American Mind: Antidotes to Popular Images of Germans in United States Schools

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Not a week goes by that one cannot turn on the television and find documentaries and movies dealing with World War II, especially the Third Reich. Americans, it seems, are caught in a time warp, one in which their knowledge of Germany focuses on the country as an instigator of war and its leaders as agents of evil. These images enter the minds of school-aged children when they go to the movies to see such Hollywood productions as Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade (1989), starring Harrison Ford, which shows a brave archeologist hunting for the Holy Grail only to be thwarted in his endeavor by Nazi-like figures. When these children attend school, the image of Germany as a hostile, war-mongering nation is further reinforced by the authority of the textbook and the teacher. As these children become high school and college students, they continue to be confronted with distorted images of Germany.

If we agree that one goal of our education system is to give students a realistic and well-rounded understanding of different countries and their peoples, then there is a problem when it comes to the treatment of Germany. While schoolchildren should, of course, discuss historical accounts of World War II and the atrocities of the Nazi government, they should also learn that Germany was the homeland of many creative geniuses, e.g., Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Albrecht Dürer, and Ludwig van Beethoven. This article deals with negative stereotypes of Germany and their transmission to schoolchildren and students; it also looks at ways to correct an often inaccurate picture of Germany.

It is eye-opening to study the changes that American stereotypes about Germans have undergone during the twentieth century. In "Racial Stereotypes of One Hundred College Students," Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly (1933) examine stereotypes of ten ethnic groups held by Princeton University students. Concerning Germans, the five most frequently mentioned attributes are "scientifically inclined," "industrious," "stolid," "intelligent," and "methodical." Following World War II, the impact of historical events can be seen in the way college students view Germans. In 1951, G. M. Gilbert completed "Stereotype Persistence and Change Among College Students," a study similar to the one conducted by Katz and Braly. In the Gilbert survey, students use three of the characteristics mentioned in the Katz and Braly article to describe Germans (i.e., "scientifically inclined," "industrious," and "intelligent"), but this time, Germans are also called "extremely nationalistic" and "aggressive."

The passage of time has not improved university students' view of Germans and Germany. If anything, their image of the country and its people has grown worse. In 1986, Kurt Stapf, Wolfgang Stroebe, and Klaus Jonas surveyed 1,439 students from twelve colleges and universities across the United States and published their results in a study entitled *Americans Talk about Germany: Judgments and Prejudices (Amerikaner über Deutschland und die Deutschen: Urteile und Vorurteile)*. They found that Germans and Germany did poorly in a number of areas, e.g., congeniality, friendliness, open-mindedness, capacity for enjoying life, and attractiveness as a vacation destination.

Even fifty years after the demise of the Third Reich, college students' view of Germans and Germany remains decidedly negative and often resembles what one might see in a spoof of an Allied propaganda film. According to a 1995 study conducted at the University of Illinois

Urbana-Champaign and sponsored by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), many American college students see Germans as a punctual, unfriendly people who value rules, regulations, and laws-even as they enjoy their beer and bratwurst with sauerkraut at an Oktoberfest on the grounds of Neuschwantstein Castle (Below, Molau, and Suchi 1995).

It seems that children begin to acquire negative images of Germans and Germany as early as grade school. Robert Shea, a teacher in the St. Louis metropolitan area, reports about a survey involving two hundred schoolchildren in grades six, seven, and eight that he conducted in 2000. While many children admitted that they had no opinion about Germans, others stated that they did not like Germans. The children felt that Germans spoke an awful sounding language, were fat, and lived in a country that had few foreigners and was covered by mountains. Shea noticed that several of the children seemed to have a "double-image stereotype [of Germans] in which it is simplistically believed that there are either only good Germans or bad Germans" (Shea 2000, para. 12).

Negative stereotypes of Germans are not limited to schools in any one geographic area of the United States. In Montgomery, Alabama, Manuelita Tietz, a teacher at Baldwin Academics and Arts Magnet Junior High School, had her German class interview over three hundred children in grades seven, eight, and nine to find out about their impressions of Germany (Richards et al. 2000). When asked what they know about Germany, many children admitted quite candidly that they "had little or no clue about anything relating to Germany or German culture" (Richards et al. 2000, 2). Others felt that Germans spoke a difficult language and that Nazis were still in power. Word War II served as a point of reference for many children who knew something about Germany. A number of interviewees associated chocolate, Black Forest cakes, and cuckoo clocks with Germany. Only a small percentage of children could make a statement concerning German history after the end of the Third Reich. Children at Baldwin Junior High School also seemed to believe that all Germans were either only good or bad.

This already inaccurate image of Germans and Germany is further distorted in high school. Patricia Ferris, a social studies teacher in New York, states that "time appears to have stopped for American high school students about sixty years ago regarding their perceptions of Germany" (Ferris 1999, 2). In 1999, she administered surveys in five diverse New York City high schools to ninth- and tenth-grade students who had not yet studied contemporary Germany. When asked about Germany, students most frequently thought of Hitler, Nazis, the Holocaust, World War II, and cars. When asked how they would describe the German people, some students rejected negative stereotypes, but many responded critically, saying that Germans were "cruel," "hateful," and "murderers." Most students had no idea of Germany's current government or its relationship to Israel. Only one third indicated that Germany is a democracy; the rest had no opinion. Concerning its relationship to Israel, 25% said "bad" or "hostile"; 75% did not know.

Numerous studies show that the negative stereotypes of Germans that people acquired in grade school, high school, and college stay with them into adulthood. For example, Siegfried Quandt (1988) notes in his essay "American and German Images in Historical Perspective" that the general population pictures Germans as "militaristic," "aggressive," and "cruel." He states that "over the long run the Nazi-reference seems to have become the basic aspect of the American perception of the Germans" (Quandt 1988, 204). These stereotypes have political consequences. In his article "Germany's Image in America," Leo Wieland (1998) points out that there is a widening gulf between Germany and the United States and that this alienation jeopardizes fifty-five years of friendly relations.

The negative stereotypes or inaccurate images that we have documented reach schoolchildren and college students in a number of ways. Of course, movies, cartoons, and video games play a role in shaping young people's view of Germany. In addition, curriculum guides published by state governments can be influential because they determine what teachers emphasize in the classroom-and what textbook authors include in the material they publish. In some states, curriculum specialists choose to highlight isolated events in Germany's history, leading students to a lopsided picture of that country. For example, the Alabama Course of Study: Social Studies includes in its minimum required content for the ninth grade a block of material that it calls the "Era of Global War: 1914-1945" (Alabama State Department of Education 1998b, 91-2). According to the guide, teachers are to emphasize "the rise of militarist and totalitarian states," "Hitler and Nazi theory in Germany," "the Holocaust," and "the Nuremberg Trials," but no mention is made that teachers should discuss the resistance movement or German writers, scientists, and artists who went into exile. The section "The World from 1945 to the Present" treats Germany only to the extent that it was involved in the Cold War struggle between the United States and the former Soviet Union (Alabama State Department of Education 1998b, 93-5). Although reunification is touched on briefly, topics such as Germany as an immigration country, the country's involvement in NATO, its coming to terms with the Nazi past, and its recent cultural and economic contributions are ignored.

And Germany fares even worse in The Alabama Course of Study: Arts Education. According to this "framework for the K-12 Arts Education program in Alabama's public schools," one of the goals of arts education is to offer "a broad-based educational program for students that includes studying the history of the arts disciplines-dance, music, theatre, and visual arts" (Alabama State Department of Education 1998a, 3). Apparently, Alabama's view of art history does not include contributions by Germany since little mention is made throughout the curriculum guide of German artistic movements. Indeed, in a list of fifty-four artists for detailed consideration in classroom instruction, no German artists can be found (Alabama State Department of Education 1998a, 206-7). Women and men such as Paula Modersohn-Becker and Albrecht Dürer are neglected. At the same time, the list contains the names of nine French and several Italian and Dutch artists. Germany is ignored in a similar fashion in the sections on dance, music, and theater.

In other cases, the problem might be the teacher who delivers an inaccurate picture of Germany by using faulty lesson plans. In the classroom unit "Introduction to Western Europe," Suzanne Mance states that her material "introduces students to the physical geography, climate, history, economy and culture of the countries of Western Europe" (Mance 2000, *Instructional Objectives*). Her goal may be laudable, but the resulting unit and lesson plans prove to be inadequate. In this teaching material published on the IUPUI University Libraries and Museums Community Project web site, Germany is sandwiched between France and Italy. The sections on France and Italy cover architecture, music, food, and art, but the sections on Germany focus on the Third Reich and the Holocaust and show pictures of concentration camps. Toward the end of all the lessons on Germany, Mance has the teacher show some handicrafts and precision tools from Germany in order to "assist students in going through a progression of negative-to-positive images of Germany" (Mance 2000, Student Instruction-Lesson Seven). It is not clear why students should be expected to have positive images of Germany after having seen a few show-and-tell items. Furthermore, additional activities for the lessons on France and Italy include visits to local museums and sampling cultural internet sites; for the lessons on Germany, Mance

recommends inviting "speakers, often found through local Jewish community centers, who [would be willing to] talk of their Holocaust experiences" (Mance 2000, Extensions of this Unit).

In many cases, history and social studies textbooks fail to provide students in grammar school and high school with a balanced view of Germans and Germany. For example, *The World: Past and Present* (1991), *The Eastern Hemisphere* (1991), and *World History: Patterns of Civilization* (1993), three textbooks by well-known K-12 publishers Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Scott Foresman, and Prentice Hall, each seem to offer a similar portrait of Germany and the Germans. According to these texts, Germany, a once aggressive military power, has become an economic power; any contributions of Germans to the intellectual development of western civilization are underemphasized.

Sometimes, the idea of Germans as a people without culture is furthered by the omission of Germany and the Germans from topics covered in school library books. In her collection called *Animal Folk Tales Around the World*, Kathleen Arnott (1970) brings together thirty-nine tales from a wide variety of countries. For example, "The Tale of the Dog's Skin" is included from Yukon, Canada, and "The Heron and the Turtle" comes from the Solomon Islands. Some countries are represented by more than one tale, and of course, tales from European countries appear. Germany, however, is ignored.

Currently, some educators are working to correct the inaccurate image that children and adults have of Germany and the Germans. Foreign language instruction is one way of changing how people view a foreign country and its people. Many foreign language educators claim that the most effective way to tear down negative stereotypes of a foreign people and their culture is for children or adults to learn the country's language. In general, learning any foreign language can help lead an individual to an overall acceptance of cultural diversity. On the basis of a 1992 study at the University of Arizona involving 340 students of German, Renate Schulz and Birgit Haerle show that students tend to develop "an increasingly sophisticated and critical perspective of [Germany] and its people" as they grow more fluent in German (Schulz and Haerle 1995, 29). To be specific, after some instruction in German, 92% of the students surveyed attributed positive characteristics to Germans; only 18% listed negative or neutral characteristics. When asked what they associate with Germany, students made many references to picturesque landscapes, to cultural contributions, and even to a beautiful language. Most importantly, references to re-unification outnumbered those to the Nazi-era.

Travel to Germany almost always challenges educators and students to reexamine the ideas they have concerning that country and its people. The New York-based Armonk Institute sponsors intensive study trips to Germany for United States educators. Since the Institute's founding in 1989, more than six hundred American teachers and administrators have participated. Cindy Spradlin, Department Chair of the Talented and Gifted Program at Roswell High School in Georgia, went on a two-week Armonk Institute-Atlantik Brücke study trip to Germany in 1999. She feels that her exposure to Germans and Germany completely changed her view of the country and the way she deals with the topic of Germany in the classroom (Spradlin 1999). Before her visit, she tended to focus only on the atrocities that were committed by the Nazis from 1933-1945; she did not care about developments in Germany after the end of World War II. After her visit, she grew interested in presenting a more complete picture of Germany. Concerning her experiences, she writes:

> I met many people who like myself were born after WWII and who were not responsible for the sins of their fathers. I also learned through my various interactions with the people of Germany that many have tried to make reparations for these past mistakes because

> they too were horrified. What I discovered most was that the German people today are very much like you and me. They have similar goals, desires, and needs. They are a wonderful people with a rich heritage who happen to have a twelve-year period of time in their history which the world has chosen to emphasize (Spradlin 1999).

Interpretive general education programs sponsored by state affiliates of the National Endowment for the Humanities can also help the public gain a better understanding of Germans and Germany. One project currently underway in Alabama and supported by the Alabama Humanities Foundation is entitled "Hans Grohs Visits Alabama: A German Expressionist Is Reborn." This presentation examines the rejuvenation that the German Expressionist artist and poet Hans Grohs (1892-1981) experienced as a result of a trip to Alabama in 1959. Grohs had been persecuted in Germany during World War II, and after the war he suffered from depression. His negative mental attitude was reflected in his work, preventing him from turning his attention to other themes and hampering him in his development as an artist. Grohs's trip to the United States was instrumental in his regaining his creative energy. We know Hans Grohs principally through the works and archive that he bequeathed to his daughter, Frauken Grohs Collinson, who now lives in Birmingham, Alabama.

According to Frauken Collinson (1998), Hans Grohs's biography is not the typical History Channel fare. Grohs was born in Pahlen, near the Eider River, in the northern German province of Schleswig-Holstein. He was apprenticed to a painter at the age of 16. From there, he went to the Art Academy in Hildesheim and then to the University of Königsberg. He was drafted to serve in World War I, but became ill and worked as a librarian in Bruges, where he studied the Flemish masters, particularly Hans Memling. In 1916, he enrolled at the Art Academy in Weimar; in 1917 he exhibited a number of paintings and woodblock prints, among them the Martin Luther print cycle, and received a gold medal, a full stipend, the title of Master Scholar, and a private studio. In 1919, the Art Academy became the Bauhaus. That year, Hans Grohs became involved in the Bauhaus dispute, leaving the school later that month and returning to Dithmarschen to work independently.

In 1920, Grohs attracted the attention of Arthur Haseloff, the director of the Kunsthalle in Kiel. Grohs exhibited oil paintings regularly, in addition to publishing poetry and prints. Among his subject matter were regional landscapes and traditional Northern themes, including the Dance of Death. Grohs's studio home, which he designed in Heide, was finished in 1925. A major exhibit in 1927 included a number of religious paintings.

In 1934, Grohs was appointed to the faculty of the Nordische Kunsthochschule in Bremen by Fritz Mackensen. Between 1934 and 1937, Grohs met Barlach, Nolde, and Matisse, among other artists. In 1937, Grohs's art was labeled "degenerate" by the Nazis, and it was removed not only from museums, but also from his home and studio. Most of the confiscated art was destroyed, and he was forbidden to exhibit. In 1943, the fifty-one-year-old Grohs was drafted and sent to the Russian Front. While serving there as a lay chaplain, he became ill and was released from further military service in 1944.

At the conclusion of the war, Grohs was interred in an American detention camp, wrongfully accused by his fellow Germans of supporting the Third Reich. Unconditionally released, he was deeply hurt, but he made friends and earned commissions from his meetings with various Americans. During 1949-50, he was a visiting artist at Bayer Lever Kusen Chemical Laboratories, Division Textile Colors and Silk Screen Printing. He produced many silkscreen prints during this period and later returned to his studio home in Heide.

In 1959, Grohs came to Alabama and had a one-person exhibit of his watercolors at the Birmingham Museum of Art. He exhibited paintings completed in America on his return to Germany. He was ill from 1960-61, but once recovered, he resumed his work. By now, he was a respected senior artist in Northern Germany, known for his depictions of the region around Dithmarsc[illegible]. In 1977, examples of Grohs's art were included in the exhibit "German Expressionists in the Collection of the Kunsthalle Kiel." Hans Grohs died in November of 1981.

Hans Grohs is as far removed from the stereotypical German as a person could possibly be. He was not a hard-hearted, nationalistic, aggressive, scientific murderer. He empathized with all people who suffered. He rejected the idea of a powerful German empire and praised democracy instead. And he was religious without being a fanatic. Furthermore, his work introduces us to a Germany with a rich artistic heritage. We can understand Grohs's work both as a continuation of the Romantic tradition and as a part of Expressionism, a major art movement in Germany from 1905-25. Grohs can serve to introduce many other German artists with whom he was associated, and he can let us glimpse some of the Northern themes common to German artists since the late Middle Ages.

One thing that hampers our understanding of his work, and correspondingly our understanding of the cultural heritage of Germany, is a legacy of our own, left over from the Armory Show, an international exhibition of modern art held in New York City in 1913. German Expressionism was underrepresented in that exhibit, which introduced modern European art trends of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to American audiences. We cannot assume that Americans would have reacted any differently than they did to the Armory Show had German work been represented in proportion to its production and importance, but certainly the romantic aspect of the German Expressionist landscape might have attracted the Americans' attention. Several scholars have pointed out Grohs's important role in art history. For example, Michael Welzenbach, writing in The Washington Times in 1986, suggests that Grohs is "a historical link between the work of the better-known expressionists such as Emil Nolde and Oskar Kokoschka and today's German 'neoexpressionist' painters-Anselm Kiefer in particular."

The efforts described above to reeducate or introduce new perceptions have not been without success. Many grade school children, high school students, university students, and adults are receptive to the German language and German cultural material, and they show themselves capable of coming to a realistic view of Germany. But among the majority of people, the hold of the negative stereotypes has proven to be very tenacious. It is the task of the school system and adult education programs to work toward a correction of the American image of Germans. In her 8 December 1999 broadcast, "Germany 'Seen from Outside,'" Carola Torti, a commentator for Deutsche Welle radio, asks her listeners which of the following images of Germans is accurate: Germans as Nazis, "hard and blond," "strong and somehow mean," "serious," aggressive, diabolical "bad guys" or Germans as fun-loving, hospitable people in a "rich and democratic country with high social standards." Our response is, of course, that neither image applies to all Germans. It is our hope that schools will produce well-educated individuals who have learned to find the truth about Germans and Germany by looking beyond the stereotypes.

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Flora J. Cooke: Making the Secondary School Progressive

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This paper recounts the thirty-year struggle by Flora J. Cooke (1864-1953) to establish progressive secondary education at the Francis W. Parker School in Chicago, Illinois, and provide a progressive model for other secondary schools.

Cooke was a disciple of the progressive educator Colonel Francis W. Parker (1837-1902) who pioneered a concept of primary education that was child-centered, but also integrated students' individual rights and self-development with their responsibility to the school community and, ultimately, to the greater community. While Flora Cooke's name is not familiar today to many educators, her work is significant because in the secondary curriculum at the Parker School, she was able to create the synthesis that Colonel Parker had achieved at the primary level. This was a considerable achievement in the educational environment of the early twentieth century, when the secondary school curriculum for college bound students focused almost exclusively upon individual mastery of traditional subject matter, to the exclusion of social concerns.

In 1901, Colonel Parker appointed Flora J. Cooke principal of the newly formed Francis W. Parker School (Memorandum, 1901). Cooke's efforts to extend Colonel Parker's theories from elementary to secondary education took more than thirty years to accomplish, because of the demands of developing a curriculum to satisfy college entrance requirements, while maintain the curriculum of a progressive school, which included non-academic activities such as music, art, presentations, club activities, and social involvement in the community of which the school was a part.

Flora Cooke's fight to establish the feasibility of progressive education at the secondary level involved six central issues, which form the basis of the present article: 1) the constraints of college entrance requirements on the secondary school curriculum; 2) the difficulties of maintaining progressive qualities in the secondary school; 3) the resolution of the college preparation/progressive curriculum conflict; 4) the Eight-Year Study; 5) the Parker School's participation in the Eight-Year Study; and 6) the findings of the Eight-Year Study.

The Constraints of College Entrance Requirements on the Secondary School Curriculum

Francis W. Parker School was established in 1901 as an elementary school with a kindergarten (Cooke, 1930, 2). The following year, Flora Cooke started a high school program, but almost immediately, Cooke had difficulty applying the progressive approach to this new program, because desirable colleges would not accept high school students unless they met rigid entrance requirements that were not easily reconcilable with a progressive school curriculum. As early as 1905, Cooke was concerned because parents were withdrawing their high school age children from the Parker School and enrolling them in college preparatory schools. She tried to convince the parents that the Parker School curriculum would prepare their children for college (Open Meeting 1905)."

A conflict over grading existed between the Parker School philosophy and the requirements for college entrance. During the 1906-1907 school year, Cooke issued a policy on grades; student work was to be graded only as satisfactory or unsatisfactory (Cooke 1907). Teachers kept internal records of a student's progress in various subjects, using the designations "poor", "fair", "good", and "excellent", however, so that the student's performance could be

translated into college credits (Notice 1911).

On May 18, 1908, at Cooke's recommendation, two certificates were issued (Cooke 1908). The full certificate showed that the student had done all the preparatory work required by the best colleges, as well as all the non-academic work that the Parker school required, which included music, art, presentations, and participation in clubs. The second certificate showed that a student who did not intend to go to college had undertaken all of the work that the Parker School required, but did not fulfill all of the college preparatory requirements. Cooke continued the policy of issuing two certificates for the rest of her tenure as principal (Osborne 1926).

After several years, there was pressure by the Board of Trustees to discontinue the high school. Cooke responded to the trustees on 25 January 1909 that the elementary school had no right to exist without the high school to test its effectiveness (Cooke 1909).

In January of 1909, Cyrus Bentley, a lawyer and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Parker School, hired Arthur Detmers to head the Frances Parker high school for the 1909-1910 year (Blaine 1909). Detmer's first order of business was to evaluate the quality of education at the school and prepare a report. Cooke had previously made a list of issues she considered important in a letter she wrote to Anita McCormick Blaine, also a member of the Board of Trustees (Cooke 1909). Cooke was interested in the development of character, personal habits, independence, and the right attitudes toward study. She stated further that the school could be evaluated to determine whether subject specialists and grade teachers were cooperating fully, assigning appropriate amounts of homework to students, grading students properly, creating continuity between grade levels, drilling the "tool" subjects (reading, writing, arithmetic), considering the developmental stage of the child when assigning work, and discovering the level of cooperation between home and teachers. Completed by January 1910, Detmer's report stated that the elementary school headed by Flora Cooke was very good, but the high school was unsatisfactory, because it was shackled by traditional requirements. Fewer than half of the elementary pupils intended to finish their schooling at Parker School, even though college entrance requirements were the basis for the curriculum (Detmers 1910).

Detmers offered four solutions: 1) keep the high school as it is and improve the quality by intensifying the college preparation; 2) abandon the high school; 3) divide the high school into a section for those going to college and another section for those who were not; 4) make the entire high school experimental, like the elementary school, and give up the attempt to meet the college entrance requirements. He recommended that the high school should "be entrusted to a man,..."Cooke should be freed of the administrative work that she is doing and left free to supervise the educational processes of the elementary school and the kindergarten (Detmers 1910, 14). Though Detmers was given special responsibility for the high school, none of his recommendations was implemented, and Cooke remained the head of the whole school. The curriculum was fine-tuned, and the faculty met at the end of each year to decide on the quality of each student's work before certification for college entrance.

The Difficulties of Maintaining Progressive Qualities in the Secondary School

In 1920, Cyrus Bentley still questioned the Parker School's non-academic requirements for students who were preparing for college, apparently believing that the nonacademic coursework interfered with coursework that would earn higher grades. He wrote Cooke that it was becoming ever more difficult for students to gain entrance to the best colleges. "Recently increase in the number of applicants for admission has led some of the most important American universities (among others Bryn Mawr, Harvard, Princeton, Smith, Wellesley, and Yale) to the

decision that only such applicants as attain a very high relative rank will be admitted (Bentley 1920, 2)."

The Parker School had developed and restructured its curriculum several times, and some non-academic requirements had already been sacrificed for students to be admitted to college. As Bentley wrote to Cooke, "Under these more rigorous conditions shall our school make additional sacrifices and compromises and continue to charge ourselves with responsibility for the adequate preparation of such pupils as may wish to enter these institutions (Bentley 1920,2)?" Concerned that the Parker School was taking on too much by trying to fulfill all of these goals, Bentley suggested a number of solutions, such as 1) requiring more than four years of high school; 2) excusing college preparatory students from music and other non-academic work; 3) having students obtain special instruction outside the school; 4) or stating formally that Parker School could not be responsible for the success of students in gaining admission to college.

Another restructuring of the high school in the spring of 1921included hiring a psychologist, and organizing a standing committee of the department heads to integrate into the high school curriculum clearly defined educational policies, such as experimentation, curricula to furnish rich intellectual life, community life of mutual service and responsibility, and training in the ideals of democracy. A further plan to restructure the high school into a junior and senior high did not happen for ten more years (Parker Committee 1921).

After World War I, the use of achievement tests became important in the educational community, especially to identify college-bound students (Cremin 1964, 186-190). Cooke was open to using these new testing techniques and was not limited to the progressive educational community in her search for innovative teaching techniques, as she showed in a speech at a Progressive Education Association (PEA) symposium: "In 1925, after five years of experimentation with the Binet and certain group intelligence and achievement tests, the Francis W. Parker School established a Department of Measurement and Diagnosis, with a trained head, giving full time to this work, with clerical assistance (Cooke 1928, 5:147)." She stressed that students at Parker School, unlike other schools, were never classified into superior or inferior groups based on tests and measurements; many other qualities were considered. Cooke did not use the tests to channel students into college and noncollege tracks but as a tool to help students uncover their potential.

At another PEA symposium, Cooke discussed the wide range of extracurricular activities that students could engage in at Parker School, if they did not neglect their academic obligations. "Some of these activities, such as the School Publication, the Student Government organization, the Forum, the School Orchestra, and divers other student-initiated clubs, are now school traditions." She discussed the Parker School requirements in music, art, and manual and physical training, emphasizing that students were expected to have a broad cultural experience. She made the case that colleges were needed that would ensure students could continue that experience without a narrowing of scope (Cooke 1928, 5:317). Eight years after the Parker School curriculum was questioned by Cyrus Bentley, Cooke still had not removed nonacademic subjects from the curriculum, as he had suggested.

Cooke tried to use course necessary for college entrance requirements to broaden the students' cultural experience. Courses like Latin were linked to literature, social studies, and drama. By 1929, Cooke wrote, "We have now gotten our Latin so that it is something much more than just Latin, it is a structural basis for all the structural languages and [a] wonderful help and a nicety in the choice of words and in an increase of vocabulary. In that sense it is an experience

which fits into all of their creative writing and understanding of languages (Cooke 1929)."

Most college preparatory schools focused on college entrance requirements for the entire four years of secondary school, but at the Parker School, the curriculum contained a diversity of course work, and an intensive review occurred at the end of the senior year. Cooke wrote, "I would rather have our pupils have three and one-half years of high school freedom and four months of intensive review and have them jump the 'fool hurdles' than for them to stay away from college, which is the alternative at present. Furthermore, if we were not willing to do this we could have no pupils at all in this school where 98 per cent of them go to college (Cooke 1929)." Though Cooke had made many adaptations at the Parker School to achieve accommodation between a secondary school progressive curriculum and college entrance requirements, the PEA would eventually provide a resolution to the conflict.

The Resolution of the College Preparation/Progressive Curriculum Conflict

Cooke was an active member of the Progressive Education Association, formed in 1919 by a small group of private school administrators and teachers to provide a forum for the many versions of progressive education being tried (Graham 1967, 1). Progressive educators used the Association to publish their particular approaches and to engage in dialogues with other proponents of this approach to education at conventions (Graham 1967, 26-27). The chief concern of many members of the Association was reform around the issue of the college preparatory curriculum, because college entrance preparation drained time and energy from a student's individual and social development (Graham 1967, 89). Members wanted to reform both the curriculum and the methods of instruction (Minutes 1929). In 1930, Cooke and the other members of the Executive Board of the PEA undertook a research project to evaluate college entrance requirements; (Report 1930) the Committee on the Relation of School and College was established "to enter into a thorough study of college entrance requirements, examinations and of the whole relationship between schools and colleges (Editorial 1930, 7:252)." Cooke was one of the twenty-six members (Graham 1967, 89).

The Committee was funded with $800 contributed in equal amounts by four private progressive schools. "The headmasters of the four schools that made the initial grant were all active in the PEA: Otis Caldwell,...at the Lincoln School; Burton P. Fowler, then president of the PEA, at the Tower Hill School; Flora J. Cooke, a member of the Advisory Board and a frequent contributor to *Progressive Education*, at the Francis W. Parker School; and Wilford M. Aikin, chairman of the new commission, at the John Burroughs School (Graham 1967, 89n)." Cooke and other committee members paid their own way for the next two years, while they continued to work on this issue. Subsequently, generous grants from the Carnegie Corporation Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the General Education Board made possible a research project on a larger scale (Graham 1967, 89-90). The group, now named the Commission on the Relation of School and College, determined that a basic reorganization of the secondary school curriculum was needed. After polling many colleges, the Commission identified a number of colleges that would be willing to accept, experimentally, some students from progressive schools who had not met the conventional college-entrance requirements (Aikin 1931, 319). The PEA initiated an experimental program, which came to be known as the Eight-Year Study, and the Francis W. Parker School became one of the high schools to participate.

The Eight-Year Study

The Eight-Year Study was a limited experiment in the relaxation of college entrance requirements for a small number of high schools (Aikin 1942, 12). In May 1932, a document entitled "A Proposal for Better Coordination of School and College Work" (Aikin 1942, 140) was sent to hundreds of colleges by the Commission on the Relation of School and College. It provided for selected high schools to be released from the course work and unit requirements then in force, as well as from the entrance exams of those colleges. By 1932, more than 300 colleges and universities had agreed that selection of candidates from participating secondary schools during an experimental period would be based only upon a recommendation from the principal of the school and a detailed history of the student, including activities and interests, evidence of the quality and quantity of work, the results of various examinations, and scores on scholastic aptitude, achievement, and other diagnostic tests. Of the colleges and universities accepting the plan, only Harvard, Yale, Radcliffe, and one or two others specified additional requirements (McConn 1933, 10:367). By 1932, the commission had appointed a special committee on records to determine how these nontraditional assessments of candidates should be collected and presented to colleges.

The proposal guaranteed that the study would include students from both public and private schools with the highest level of character and excellence. The schools would need to commit funds, faculty, parental support, and administrative leadership to accomplish this task. The specification included the level of training, equipment, and outlook of the present teaching staff, the cooperation of the parents or public groups supporting each of the schools, and more rigid college-entrance requirements for men's colleges than for women's colleges (Leigh 1933, 10:374).

After the colleges responded in 1933, the Commission and the Directing Committee chose a diverse group of secondary schools. Diversity was achieved by selecting schools from various geographic areas, private boys' schools, private girls' schools, private coeducational schools, public high schools, and university secondary schools (Aikin 1942, 14). Small schools annually graduating twenty or fewer students were excluded. More than two hundred schools were nominated, and many submitted proposals for participation in the study, but only thirty schools were eventually chosen, the Parker School among them (Leigh 1933, 10:374).

Once chosen, the schools submitted proposals for developing progressive programs, and each school was allowed to develop its own format. The Directing Committee did not require that the high schools adopt a standardized progressive program (obviously, a contradiction in terms), but there was a core curriculum of the social sciences, the physical sciences, and liberal arts from which students could choose, according to interests and aptitudes (Leigh 1933, 10:374). There was increased correlation and interweaving of subject material and greatly augmented attention to individual guidance. Independent, self-directed study was encouraged, and opportunities were offered for creative self-expression through writing, dramatics, the graphic and plastic arts, music, and school and community activities (Leigh 1933,10:380). The participating schools were expected to determine the subject matter in their programs.

The key concept in all of the programs was the requirement of an individual teacher to serve as a counselor to provide guidance for students in course selection and personal and social adjustment, now that there was no separation between curricular and extra-curricular activities, (Leigh 1933, 10:380) and student publications, dramatics, dance, art, music, and student group organizations were considered valid educational enterprises. The metropolitan area around the

school was used to relate schoolwork to the environment, the community, the state and the nation, and to technological and scientific life. Free time was provided for individual investigations or projects.

The Committee on Evaluation and Recording of the Eight-Year Study developed new records and tests to evaluate and report the knowledge and skills of the students participating in the Eight-Year Study. The Committee was not interested in memorization of limited bodies of written material. The preliminary plans from the first year of the program were changed, but all of the schools built upon a progressive elementary and junior high school program that prepared students for colleges that were more progressive in their theory and practice (Leigh 1933, 10:380).

Each school was given complete freedom to work out content and method in accordance with their best thought and experience as to what high school students should have in their last four years (Aikin 1942, 142). Thus, a student would have a progressive secondary education, followed by four years in a traditional college or university. Some schools would begin the experimental program with the tenth grade, although at the Parker School, it began with the ninth grade (Cooke 1933 March 20).

Parker School's Participation in the Eight-Year Study

Because the Parker School was having financial difficulties, Cooke enrolled only some of the Parker School students in the experimental program; other high schools enrolled all their students (Cooke 1934). The Parker School chose "those pupils in the ninth grade who expect to go to college and who in the opinion of the faculty are capable of doing successfully the traditional college work, and those whose parents recognize both the advantages and risks implicit in the plan, would next year be officially listed in the experimental group. This would exclude those who expect to go to colleges not cooperating in the experiment (Cooke 1933 March 20)."

The curriculum reorganization that the Parker School submitted in 1933 to the Directing Committee of the Eight-Year Study designated grades seven through nine as junior high school, and grades ten through twelve as senior high school. Even though the Eight-Year Study directly affected only the last four years of high school, the Parker School plan addressed grades seven through twelve. The new curriculum would place social studies in an important position, focusing on economic, sociological, historical, ethical, geographical, and aesthetic factors of American civilization. Science and mathematics courses would be required of all junior high school students, but senior high school students could take them as electives. Cooke felt that the English and literature courses as the Parker School had evolved them over the years were satisfactory. The English department was responsible for written composition, public speaking and drama, but also supplied advisors to self-directed student activity groups (Cooke 1933 March 18).

Before the Eight-Year Study, Parker students were required to complete the courses for college entrance requirements, plus such nonacademic course work as music and art, to earn their graduation certificate, although only courses accepted by colleges could be used for college credit. Now, all of the courses taught at the Parker school could be considered academic courses. In a speech that Cooke made on the Eight-Year experiment, she stated that these courses "will rank equally for college preparation and graduation with any of the more traditional subjects (Cooke 1934)." Unless a student had an obvious talent, these courses took the form of art or music history and appreciation. Nonacademic activities involved individual student, group and

community projects, which were no longer considered extra-curricular activities, but were incorporated into the students' formal education (Cooke 1933 March 20). Frequent conferences strengthened relationships between the parents, school physician and psychologist, physical training and play directors, and others to coordinate factors relating the students' physical and mental well-being. The Parker School was looking forward to improving its own system of tests and measurements by the findings of the Committee, which was developing new instruments to track the students in the Eight-Year Study on growth, development and progress (Cooke 1933 March 18).

When the year was over, the teachers were asked to provide a written evaluation of the experiment. A report detailing the progress of the experimental group revealed problems delivering the new program, and within each course, adjustments were made (Osborne 1934).

Although Cooke expressed enthusiasm for the tools that the evaluation committee had begun to develop the previous year, she spoke out to the North Central Association against the "avalanche of tests, and particularly against the nature of the tests, which came from the commission's Testing Committee...(Cooke 1934)." Cooke preferred to send the testing committee full cumulative and anecdotal records of the students, saying, "I believe the school should resist every attempt which tends to make the work uniform, rather than experimental, in character (Cooke 1934)." Cooke had struggled with college entrance examinations, and now she seemed concerned that the new set of tests would replace the former College Boards, and that the tests would limit the full range of student achievement.

The Findings of the Eight-Year Study

In July 1936, to provide a thorough evaluation of the Eight-Year Study, the Commission set up a subcommittee called the College Evaluation Staff, made up primarily of university deans. The College Evaluation staff judged students on intellectual competence, cultural development, practical competence, philosophy of life, character traits, emotional balance, social fitness, sensitivity to social problems, and physical fitness. These criteria were subdivided further, and "sources of evidence" were agreed upon. Evaluation tools were developed to keep track of all the data collected (Smith 1942, 4).

One evaluation instrument was the Trait Study, which recorded behavior to determine if a candidate was acceptable for college. The guidance that the Trait Study provided extended from high school through college to graduate school and beyond, looking at responsibility and dependability, creativeness and imagination, influence, inquiring mind, open-mindedness, the power and habit of analysis, social concern, emotional responsiveness, serious purpose, social adjustability, and work habits (Smith 1942, 474). Each trait had a range of behaviors connected with it. Each teacher would record student traits on record cards, twice a year, through the six years of junior and senior high school (Smith 1942, 474-483).

The first students in the study entered college in 1936 and the College Evaluation Staff examined students from the twenty-five representative colleges that enrolled the majority of students (Aikin 1942, 108). As part of the evaluation process, each student was matched with a college peer who had not been in the study to determine whether the students did better or worse than the students trained with the traditional methods of college preparation and who had met the usual entrance requirements (Aikin 1942, 110). Each student was matched with a peer selected to match him or her according to sex, age, race, scholastic aptitude scores, home and community background, interests, and probable future. The performance of the matched pair was tracked during the study.

In Wilford Aikin's report on the Eight-Year Study he stated that "Altogether, 1475 pairs

of students were studied–those entering college in 1936, for four years, those entering in 1937, for three; those entering in 1938, for two; and the class entering in 1939, for one year. (Aikin 1942, 110)." Although 1475 progressive students in the study were evaluated, approximately 3,600 Eight-Year Study students were in college between 1936 and 1940 (Chamberlin 1942, 1).

The instruments of evaluation developed by the study shaped the experiment as it progressed. Attitudes, beliefs, and scientific thinking of the students were also checked. Many instruments of evaluation were prepared by the committee, but the Parker School self-evaluation specified four types: anecdotal records, paper-and-pencil tests, neutral observer, and a planned conference (Thirty Schools 1943, 314-317).

Graduates of Francis W. Parker School compared very favorably to the students with whom they were matched. The primary purpose of the Eight-Year Study was to determine whether progressive high schools could educate students according to their ideals without compromising college performance. The statistics gathered by the College Evaluation Staff showed that the Parker students' grade point average was higher than that of the control group (Thirty Schools 1943, 318). The Staff summarized their characteristics as follows:

> They rank high in social graces, very high in social consciousness. They seem for the most part well informed concerning current affairs. They hold mature views upon education. They talk easily and well about these views. They seem to have, or to desire to possess, a sense of direction for themselves both in college and for after college. All of them are enthusiastic about their training at Francis W. Parker-years of "happy, practical, and vital" education (Thirty Schools 1943, 318).

Thus, the Eight-Year Study validated the work and philosophy of Flora J. Cooke, and of her mentor, Colonel Francis W. Parker. The Study showed that progressive secondary schools could effectively educate college-bound students, and concluded, as Cooke anticipated, that Parker students, and those from other progressive schools, were ready not only for college, but for life.

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Teachers in America: At Odds with the American Ethos

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For at least the last 50 years, American teachers have been maligned for not being good enough to educate children able to compete with other nations. They are purported to be badly trained, poorly educated, and unmotivated. They not only are presumed to lack the discipline to do good work, they refuse to interest students to do their best work. In recent years, they have been urged to be better prepared and more accountable for student results, with the apparent assumption that they could have done it all along if they had only tried. In fact, teachers are better than they used to be.

Teachers today are much improved from early in this century in terms of their education and training, and have more rigorous state standards than ever before to be admitted to the profession and remain in it. Far more students complete secondary school and higher education than 50 years ago, but somehow this doesn't matter to critics (Berliner 1997). The stark reality is that no matter how hard teachers try to improve their profession and their performance, they will never be taken seriously enough to become a true profession. Why? Because to the public, being a teacher in our culture is an admission of failure. "Schoolteachers," as they are called, refuse to abide by the American ethos of progress, change as a good, ambition, and striving to be a success, by which is meant a person of wealth and power. Teachers do not fit the American ideals of success, power, and wealth, and so can never be considered professional experts deemed worthy of serious attention by the public.

In short, no matter how well teachers conform to the myriad demands of various reformers–and often because of that conformity–they can never succeed in America. They will always need guidance by noneducators who claim to know what's best for children. After all, elementary teachers are so close to the children that they must be one of them, suspects the public. Schoolteachers are neither trusted nor respected because of their very willingness to be in roomfuls of children for nine months at a time. And then they are denigrated by much of the public because they get three months off even though they teach more hours during the school year than in other nations (www.PublicAgenda.org). Thus we are doomed in this country to a never-ending cycle of reform, false promises by reformers, and continual failure because teachers are always the problem and never the solution.

The idea of Progress is the first American ethic that confronts teachers in our society. The nineteenth century call for a Manifest Destiny still resonates with Americans, for it demands that the nation expand in all ways in a continuous manner.

The American mentality has insisted upon expansion and improvement in all realms, and has a gross impatience with any lack of it. There is no excuse for failure (DeVitis and Rich 1996). By the late nineteenth century, Sumner, Fiske, and Spencer preached an evolutionary doctrine that built upon the old Manifest Destiny ideal, for now progress was a necessity, requiring a limited government so that the natural genius of America and the natural law of market forces could impell us to a better tomorrow (Hofstadter 1959). This paradox of human free will within a deterministic framework had captured the American imagination for over a century, while entrapping teachers. For if students fail to progress on time through the grades, if test scores fail to rise forever, if discipline, morality, and manners of youth fail to improve, then teachers must be at fault. Americans, wrote historian Henry Commager, have come to believe that nothing is beyond their power, and therefore they are impatient with any success that was "less than

triumph" (Commager 1962, 5). Woe to the that her students are just educator that insists improving. No, they must always be at grade level or else the students are failing.

Along with progress comes the acquisition of power, for how else can one demonstrate success so well? In a democratic United States, equalitarian values have mitigated against the formation of a legitimate leisure class. However, without the customary family prerogatives, the importance of power has become exaggerated (Commager 1962). For teachers of young children, this has always meant disaster, because there are few professions that have had less power. Local district control has traditionally meant that teachers were hired for a single term based on the whim of a district clerk, without protection from abuse (Warren 1989). Teachers' sole power was their ability to move on to another position or occupation with better pay and conditions of employment. This very transience, however, has retarded the formation of a profession with established norms. Even in the twentieth century, norms for teachers have been controlled by others that touch upon their occupational lives: college professors, state department bureaucrats, state legislators and federal officials, and local school boards.

In addition, a vast bureaucracy grew at all levels to tell teachers what to do, how to do it, and to whom. District curriculum policies, student assignments, classroom management, discipline standards, resource allocations, mandated testing, and now state curriculum standards all work to control teachers' everyday lives (Johnson 1990). The endless bureaucratic interference reinforces the isolation and alienation many teachers feel toward their superiors and even their colleagues. It doesn't help that teachers tend to operate in isolation from one another, trying to hide behind their doors to preside over their individual classroom domain (Lortie 1975). Teachers have become expert at agreeing verbally to follow supervisors' missives while doing whatever pleases them in what they can control: student's use of time and space. Unions have given teachers rights to due process, improved pay, benefits, and conditions of instruction, but have not improved the public perception of them as a protected species unable to stand on their own. In fact, teachers' responsibility is great while their potential for failure significant. They must contend with clients whom they do not choose, who often have no choice about being there, whose intellectual and social quality is quite variable, and whose parents may choose not to cooperate with the teacher's objectives.

Teachers are treated like assembly-line workers at certain times, like minor bureaucrats at others, and then chided for not acting like independent professionals who make decisions based on their expertise like other professionals, though they lack the freedom to do so (Shedd and Bacharach 1991). In most ways that matter to a teacher, she has no control. Her teaching load, study space, and discipline procedures are given to her without discussion, unless her union happens to make those items of collective negotiation. Much time is spent in the nonprofessional tasks of collecting lunch money, lunch duty, bus duty, recess duty, and hall duty (Rousmaniere 1997). Furthermore, as state and federal programs, guidelines, and standards increase, her paperwork increases. Yet she is supposed to be accountable for student results! Such a vulnerable occupation has resorted to union rules and electoral pressure to get its way during the 1960s and 1970s, but this only resulted in a huge backlash of the Reagan years exemplified by the *Nation At Risk* report (United States 1983). Diane Ravitch's *The Troubled Crusade* became the rallying point for those who believed that our teachers had failed to educate all children to the best of their ability, even though that had never been the case in history and even though teachers never had control of the curricula or conditions of instruction. Soon the National Governors' Conference and the business elite called for national academic standards and attacks on educators became more serious (Conference Board 1989).

Success in America has also been equated with material wealth. This is an area that teachers do not compare well with other professional groups as they have an average annual salary of $35,000 (NCES 1999). As social critic Christopher Lasch reminds us, there was a time in American history when opportunity was measured more in personal intellectual than material enrichment. The antebellum years produced the lyceum, subscription libraries, and other self-improvement mechanisms so each person could attain his or her full human potential. Because of this desire for self-improvement, the laboring class of America differed from their European counterparts at the time in their "superior resourcefulness and self-reliance, their capacity for invention and improvisation" (Lasch 1995, 59). The irony is that schools have rarely been asked to increase or reward students' inventive capacities. Rather, teachers were to instill correct habits, morals, and discipline in youth so they would become good workers, obedient to superiors. As a good worker, one would become a productive member of society, of which wealth might be a byproduct . By the late nineteenth century, however, wealth became an ideal as one mark of success. By the late twentieth century, many would say that wealth has become the only mark of success, with its concomitant aura of power. What matters most is that one gain economic wealth for oneself (Collier 1991). Community or personal morality is discounted, and this does not bode well for teachers who often claim they are shaping the character of youth for adulthood.

If teachers are able to help students progress through the grades on time and do well on state tests, then parents may consider them heroes. But the suggestion of Leon Lessinger's *Every Kid A Winner* (1970) is that ALL students can and will do this. Since there has never been a time when all students do above average in a school district, there are always going to be parents who will attack teachers for this supposed inability to make every student excell in academics so that he or she can have opportunities for further education, good jobs, and personal wealth (DeVitis and Rich 1996). Educators are often maligned for encouraging social education in place of strong academic work, but parents expect their children to know how to get along in society on their way to material success, and support extracurricular activities in their children's schools to this end. To accord with the American ethos, students must learn how to use their fellows in their quest for continual personal advancement. If teachers hinder students in this quest in any way, they are attacked.

Individualism is another strong American ethic that is usually coupled with initiative and invention to produce private economic gain (Dewey 1929). Americans are an individualistic people, intensely disliking any intrusion into their affairs by government or society (Billington 1957). Though early Republicanism disdained excessive individualism if it hurt others, and held contemptable mere accumulators of wealth such as bankers, this individualism has also meant that anyone who fails to protect their rights is not to be taken seriously (Draper and Guarasci 1987). Since teachers in the nineteenth century held few rights in their employment, they were considered to be poor representatives of individualism. The advent of teacher unions in the twentieth century has done little to enhance the teacher's image as a strong individual, for the very ethic of a union is to treat everyone the same way as much as possible with universal rules. To much of the public, this is a mark of a weak person (Lieberman 1993).

Self-reliance is a companion to individualism in the American ethos. If wealth is a virtue, self-reliance is the method of attaining that wealth. Destiny is in one's hands, and if one is a strong and inventive individual, then one cannot fail of success—or so the ethic goes. In one sense, teachers have always been central to this belief. The whole point of public common schools was to give each child the tools with which to fend for oneself in the land of opportunity.

Teachers can help with this process, but self-reliance usually means acquiring the tools from the school experience, not the teachers themselves who are almost never role-models in our culture. At worst, Horatio Alger novels depict teachers as destructive of individual self-reliance; at best, individuals acquire the knowledge and tools to become strong due to their own character. In literature, teachers are depicted as isolated and unrealistic prudes, not of the material world, who are caregivers, caretakers, and moralists (Joseph and Burnaford 1994). They are not usually depicted as self-reliant or independent human beings.

Teachers are also not shown to be ambitious, another part of the individualist creed that demands constant improvement in one's power, wealth, and status. It is not enough to do a good job or complete one's tasks in an orderly, efficient manner, as many teachers would believe they are doing. One must demonstrate ambition through clever risk-taking. As the old conundrum states, nothing ventured, nothing gained. It is the rugged individualist who shows the way for others who is the American hero, not the common drudge. Progress needs daring promoters, self-assertive entrepreneurs, who have new ideas and convince others to fund them and buy their product or service (Hofstadter 1959). Innovators seek new approaches, and so the belief goes, break with the past to form new organizations, procedures, or products to move society forward.

None of the qualities featured in this article seem to be part of the public perception of teachers. They are not ambitious, else they never would have settled to become teachers. They are not even allowed to be self-reliant in many schools, because the bureaucracy will not let them. Since Americans tend to believe in free will, they must conclude that teachers have chosen this life of comparative isolation with a room full of children. Teachers are viewed as a protected species, who do not have to prove their competence with children, and who cannot strive for promotion unless they leave the classroom. They are not risk-takers by definition, believes the public, else they would have chosen another occupation. Teachers cannot reach the top because their occupation has no top, except in salary scale. (Johnson 1990) They refuse to partake of the competitive real world outside of schools. The frontier tradition, suggests Ray Billington, suggests beckoning opportunity. But teachers refuse that challenge by their very choice of occupation (Billington 1957).

Teachers have little chance for entrepreneurship in a bureaucratic system. Most teachers are in large districts of more than 5,000 students, which enroll 65% of the total students. (Digest of Education Statistics 2000, table 91) Subject to competency testing, ability-group tracking, age-graded classrooms, blocked schedules, and lack of control over their time, teachers find they are constrained by a system bent on efficiency of production, not student learning. Such a system has created an uncertain future, wherein goals are often contradictory, technology weak, and raw materials uneven (Johnson 1990). The current zealous attention to standardized tests by states and local districts forces teachers to gear their instruction to correct answers. Many states have also developed complicated performance goals that overwhelm teachers' control over their classroom. As one example, in Delaware, there are 92 standards for fourth grade reading alone (State of Delaware 1995). Reformers who favor such standards often insist that creative teachers can work within a system of performance goals, because the method of performance attainment is not mandated. While there are always a few outstanding teachers who work creatively within such a system, most teachers find the task overwhelming.

It appears that accountability is more for teachers than students or parents. Yet there is no reason to suspect pressures for higher test scores will subside as legislatures have passed testing and accountability measures into law. Parents view themselves as clients and teachers as their servants who are always more responsible for student learning than the students themselves.

This is the case even though teachers do not control the raw materials (students), the process (curriculum), or the product (state standards). If teachers attempt to exert control over these items through professional organizations, then many will attack them for depriving parents of their right to intervene on their children's behalf. Teachers just can not be trusted (Lieberman 1993)!

Another reason that parents are uneasy about teachers' attempts to control the profession is that educators have long used the service ethic as a primary descriptor of their occupation. In this ethic, teachers give of themselves to help children and society without expectation of large material gain. They do so as moral arbiters of society, superior to the common run of citizens in their ethical standards. So when teachers demand the higher pay, benefits, control, and status common to other professions, they are mistrusted for their worldliness. The service ethic is a weak positive in our culture. While citizens seem to appreciate teachers for their sacrifice of power and wealth, it is also proof of a lack of ambition and even naiveté, as it is based on an apparent belief in human perfectibility (DeVitis and Rich 1996). Teachers might demur, saying that they do not expect perfectibility, just improvement in a child's learning. Teachers, especially new ones, state that they want to make a difference in children's lives, see them grow and develop, and able to solve problems. In short, they want to nurture the whole child, which includes emotional, physical, and ethical needs, not just intellectual performance (Cohn and Kottkamp 1993). These do not translate well into clear goals for a school, especially that which is quantifiable in standardized test scores. Therefore, teachers are always threatened by others' charge that they are inattentive to the real purpose of education, which is a student increase in academic knowledge that can be proven by examinations.

There is scholarly support for the teachers' belief in child nurturance. Carl Rogers has called for reflection, empathy, and self-awareness that leads to authentic persons who become fully-functioning, complete human beings (Rogers 1961). Alfred Adler sees the history of humankind as a continual progressive movement toward a democratic, cooperative culture in which service to others is evidence of a faith in humanity. Martin Buber believes that people should always treat others as ends in themselves, not as means to one's ends. He also supports educators' concern for children as whole persons capable of great possibilities (Buber 1955). And Nel Noddings insists that a healthy world depends on our ability to remain in a caring relation to others (Noddings 1987).

On the other hand, there are other scholars who question such devotion to the caring of others. Aristotle attacks excessive attention to helping others as destructive of the Golden Mean. Freud is suspicious of service as is Erich Fromm, because such a person must receive validation from others through a search for approval. Karen Horney attacks those devoted to service for others as evidence that one exists to please others, thus demonstrating an inordinate need for approval and fear of rejection (Horney 1937). These scholars attack the service ethic as does most anyone who believes in the American ethos of individual personal success through ambition. They are individualists who see teachers who would admit to the importance of nurturance of others as a primary motivation for success as weak, misguided people. It provides verification of the belief by many Americans that teachers refuse to partake of the real world of competitive struggle. Ironically, teachers of small children well understand that their charges need strength in all areas to become strong individuals who have self-discipline, social skills, subject-matter learning, and the tolerance and creativity necessary for full development in a democratic society (Shedd and Bacharach 1991). Thoughtful parents also understand this and support teachers who assist their child's growth. They also recognize that state academic

standards with concomitant testing threaten many children's well-being, for there are always losers among the winners in such a system.

Does it matter that teachers do not fit the American ethos as held by business people? Yes it does, because so much of educational reform in the United States is led by businesspeople who assume that they speak for the nation. They have strong and effective ties to the political establishment of both major parties that have succeeded in gaining state mandates that affect teacher's lives throughout the nation. If politicians in league with business reformers continue to set higher standards and "high-stakes" tests that neither students nor teachers can meet well enough to satisfy reformers' demands, then teachers will continue to be attacked by the reformers and politicians for failing to do their job in an adequate manner.

The impossible goals and negative press for teachers will dampen the desire by many people to become teachers, a crisis when the nation will need at least 2.5 million replacements in the next decade. And even if a large number of well-prepared, nurturing people enter the field, they will quickly realize the futility of ever meeting the ever-increasing goals, get discouraged, and leave the profession. This will force districts to expand their quest for teachers with temporary certification or short-term preparation to fill the schools. These people are not likely to be fully qualified or successful and will probably leave after a short time too.

The real need is for teacher organizations to make clear the need for nurturance of the child's full needs: emotional, moral, and physical, as well as academic. Teachers must also be willing to focus on individual children, connect better with families, and assist each other as the professionals they claim to be. They must prove to the public that they are accountable for student results by seeing that they and their colleagues achieve the best results possible. High test scores do not guarantee well-educated, productive citizens, but teachers must show that they can do the best job possible together if they are to be esteemed as professionals. The problem is that teachers may never be able to overcome the image of people who can never be really successful because they aren't in business!

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A Reflection of the Past: Desegregation for Goliad, Texas

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The following poem was written by one of my former students, Roxanne Franco. She wrote it in the early 1980's while a student at Crockett High School in Austin, Texas.

Spic
I see me as me
They see me as SPIC
I try to fit in
They won't let me
They keep
Pushing and shoving
Until I am broken and shattered.
I try to be proud
They try to disgrace me
I do not succeed in my
Proudness and I cry
As they rejoice
In putting my heritage down.

There is a crisis of equity in the United States. Public schools play as much of a role in magnifying differences between children from wealthy and impoverished backgrounds and between children of different ethnic and diverse backgrounds as they do in overcoming these differences (Slavin 1998 7). Competing groups struggle to determine whose children's needs will be met, whose culture will be validated, and whose values will be sustained in a democratic educational system (Johnson 1996). Disparity of opportunity has characterized the elementary and secondary public schools in Texas since the state's inception of an educational system–a pattern repeated with each succeeding generation, including the present (Chapa and Lazaro 1998, 52).

The purpose of this article is to present a case study of Goliad, Texas that elucidates this inequity and the degradation Mexican-Americans suffered as a result of segregation. Goliad, Texas is located about one hundred twenty-three miles southeast of Austin towards Corpus Christi, Texas, and is the third oldest municipality in Texas.

This paper begins by providing a brief overview of the complexity of the semantic task in deciding what term to use in identifying Spanish-speaking Americans. How does one define the Spanish-speaking people of this manuscript when not all readers may be familiar with the differences existing within the varied, linguistically, economically, socially, and politically rich community? Foremost, consider that labels for Spanish speakers seem to have varied from state to state, regions within a state, and people within a region.

Labels such as Spanish, Spanish-speaking, Spanish-American, Latin American and Mexican were used in the southwestern part of the United States during the early part of the nineteenth century (Manuel 1934). Many of the people, descendants of early Spanish colonists, were opposed to being called Mexican, while others, recent immigrants from Mexico, were

proud to be called Mexican. Manuel (1934 3) also reports that prior to 1930, Mexicans were classified as white. Grebler, Newman, and Wyse (1966 v) defined Mexican-American as a generic term that included people of Mexican, Spanish or mixed Indian descents. In a small community in South Texas, most people used the term Mexicano, few used the term Chicano, and others used the term Mexican-American when referring to Spanish-speaking individuals (Foley et al. 1977).. White Americans called Mexican-Americans and Mexican immigrants Mexicans (Gamio 1969). Furthermore, according to Gimenez (1977, 235), the term Hispanic is eminently political: it identifies neither an ethnic group nor a minority group.

As one attempts to describe a distinct group of Spanish-speaking people in general terms, the complexity and implications of label identification are quite evident. This paper uses the term Mexican to refer to the Spanish-speaking people within the context of this research. Mexican-American will be used when referring to Spanish-speaking people in general.

Let us return to the past and reflect on some of the events that occurred in a small town, Goliad, Texas, current population 2200 inhabitants. The expansion of a public school system included turmoil for Mexican-Americans. The events are viewed through a lens set within a historical context of racism in America as a people struggled to understand, interpret, and accept the concept of equal educational opportunity defined by a set of circumstances unique to the respective time period. This reflection of the past will report the inequalities, attitudes, dehumanization and oppression of Mexican-Americans in a small town community. Stevens and Woods (1995 13) report that the history of education for Mexican- Americans was marked by many of the same difficulties as for African Americans.

Founding Goliad

Goliad's history began with the establishment of El Presidio de La Bahía del Espíritu Santo (the Fort of the Bay of the Holy Ghost). The Spaniards created a permanent agricultural settlement around the fort that also served as a means of protection against the Indians. El Presidio de La Bahía del Espíritu Santo's cattle, combined with cattle belonging to the settlers in La Bahía, totaled some 40,000 and is recognized as the first great cattle ranch in Texas (Bigony 1999 4). In 1829 the town was named Goliad, an anagram of Father Hidalgo, a priest who led the Mexican Revolution against Spain's tyranny, September 16, 1810.

Texas became a Mexican state in 1821 (Evans 1955) and Mexican soldiers occupied the fort between 1821 and 1835. Records indicate that the first establishment of a school in La Bahía or Goliad was initiated by the Spanish regime in 1818 and José Galán, a private soldier, taught eighty children (Evans 1955). La Bahía had a continuous school from 1818 to 1821 with José Galán as the teacher (Perrin 1933 7). Later, accounts obtained from a letter to a political leader in San Antonio indicate the establishment of a primary school in 1828 in La Bahía (Perrin 1933).

Invading Forces Appear

After the Texas Revolution, Anglo-American settlers established Goliad County in 1837, which was incorporated by the Texas Congress in 1840. German immigrants began settling the northern section of Goliad County by the late nineteenth century.

The Texas legislature established separate schools for white and colored races in 1873. The racial segregation was part of the social climate and this castification would last well into the twentieth century. The only requirements or authority for segregation of students in the public schools of the State of Texas on account of race or descent was based upon Section 7, Article

VII, of the Constitution of Texas, and applied only to persons of Negro ancestry. Section 7 of Article VII provides: "Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored children, and impartial provision shall be made for both (State Department of Education)."

Treading a New Century

Ethnic and racial segregation in Goliad's educational system was common during the early part of the twentieth century. In 1914, Mexican students were segregated in a two-room building with 2 teachers provided by trustees of Goliad County (Perrin 1933).

By 1918 there were 28 common school districts in Goliad County. Smaller communities began to emerge outside the town of Goliad. Some of the white wealthy landowners, needing laborers to work the farms or cattle ranches, constructed buildings to accommodate their daily food, educational and religious needs. C. C. Ramsey, Sr. around 1917, built Angel City, located nine miles southwest of Goliad. The cotton grower constructed 2 schools, 1 for whites and another for Mexicans. In addition, the small community included a dairy, blacksmith shop, a teacherage, several tenant houses, and a mercantile store (Bode and Light 1995, 251).

There were three enrollment patterns in Texas: in some communities Mexican children attended school with whites; in some areas Mexican children attended school with whites but were separated in another room; and in other towns, Mexican children had their own school (Black, 1995). Goliad County established Ray as the Mexican school, administered by the county Superintendent and School Board of Goliad County (Pruett and Cole 1983, 85). Many of the rural schools permitted Mexicans and whites to attend school together, but at Riverdale, separate classes for Mexicans and whites were set up within the same school building (Bode and Light 1995, 205). In rural communities outside of Goliad, such as Berclair, Rylander, Charco, and Angel City had separate schools for the Mexicans (Perrin 1933, 139).

Listening to Voices of the Past

The lack of commitment on the part of the schools in educating the Mexican student is reflected in the following anecdotes. Mrs. Elida R. Garza, an interviewee and life-long resident of Goliad, remembered the schoolhouse in Angel City. It consisted of two rooms and would fill to capacity. She could not recall whether whites from the area attended the same school at that time. As in many parts of Texas, various grades were clustered together in one room, and the teacher was not able to give much attention to any one individual (Foley et al. 1988). Lack of educational resources at home coupled with little effort in studying and learning the English language contributed to the disinterest Mrs. Garza experienced during her early years in school. On the other hand, her teachers did not take time to explain and teach Mrs. Garza. Mrs. Garza was academically behind and considered herself quite old for the third grade. It is no surprise to expect the lack of commitment on the part of the schools in educating the Mexican student.

The Mexican student was expected to function in a paradigm constructed and dominated by the white culture. Schools at that time could be viewed as contributing to the reproduction of inequality by devising a curriculum that rewarded the "cultural capital" of the dominant classes and systematically devalued that of the lower classes (Mehan et al. 1996, 213).

Mrs. Garza said, "I was embarrassed because I was so much older than the other girls in my third grade level." Her educational needs were not academically supported and as a result, dropping out was the best recourse for her at that time.

Chapa and Lazaro (1998 52) affirm that children of Mexican descent, seen both as outsiders and members of a dominated race by some members of the Anglo culture, were never

expected to participate fully in American life. In another interview conducted by this author, Mrs. Lillie V. Ybarbo, a life-long resident of Goliad, stated that her husband, Mr. Raymond Ybarbo, told her that he felt the teachers did not care about educating Mexicans. When Mr. Ybarbo attended school with whites he had a teacher, Mrs. Rock, who would send him on a daily errand for her. "Everyday instead of having him in class and teaching him, the teacher would send him all the way from across the railroad tracks to go bring the lunch for that teacher." As a result, errands for the teacher kept Mr. Ybarbo out of class for a long time. Mrs. Ybarbo's husband felt he was not achieving as well as the other students and eventually dropped out of school. Moore and Cuellar (1970 78) concur that at the secondary level schools, students were often simply discouraged from attending school at all. It was Mr. Ybarbo's opinion that the teachers did not care whether or not the Mexicans learned.

In addition, Mrs. Ybarbo remembers the low expectations teachers had for her and the other Mexican children. Lillie loved going to school especially to play and be in the Christmas programs. She fondly remembers getting to hold cards with letters and memorizing lines such as "C is for cherry pie." It seemed to her that the Mexicans were discriminated in that they never got any of the more difficult lines, but rather were relegated to recite the easier scripts. They also had shorter roles and did not get to participate in the program as much as the white students, yet she still relished the opportunity. She stated the Mexicans were just as academically capable as the white children.

Even though the Mexican-American children in Goliad were integrated with white students, their language was still viewed as a barrier and the children were often intimidated and reprimanded for speaking their mother tongue (Moore and Cuellar 1970). Some educators at that time viewed bilingualism as a detriment to a child's academic progress (Moore and Cuellar 1970).

All Mexican students in Goliad were required to speak English in the classroom. On the playground they were not reprimanded for speaking in their mother tongue, however, Mrs. Ybarbo remembers being punished for speaking Spanish in the classroom. "I know we would get punished and they would stand us in a corner and they would put a little round deal on the board and with the tip of your nose you would have to pull up your neck and be touching." This type of treatment happened to her on various occasions but she often looked for opportunities to turn around and look at the class. Of course, this was a risk due to the punishment awaiting her upon getting caught by the teacher. "If they catch you, they make you stay longer." Other means of punishment included using a long stick to whip the boys for inappropriate behavior.

Mrs. Elida R. Garza stated that she and her classmates used to speak in Spanish to copy from each other whenever the teacher assigned work. The teacher would punish them by making them stand in front of the blackboard and the other children would laugh. Mrs. Garza remembers the time she and a classmate were put outside on the school porch facing the wall as punishment for speaking Spanish. Other times the teacher would use a belt to flog the boys as punishment for not following directions. This customary action was a means to enforce discipline in the classroom. Today, bilingualism is viewed as an asset, but unfortunately, Mrs. Garza's linguistic assets were never validated during her early school years and resulted in little or no access to instructional activities in the school.

Variations in attitudes and expectations of a population not conforming to the norms set by local control of a school district often added dissonance to the lives of Mexican-American students. As Spindler (1987, 109) affirms, the challenge is to recognize and accept the

differences without creating disadvantageous separatism or segregation, whether self-imposed or imposed from the dominant group.

One of the ironies of Texas history, as Foley (1990) reminds us, is that Mexicans were forced out of many Texas counties during the mid nineteenth century and then heavily recruited in the early 1900s to return and pick cotton. Students of Mexican origin in Goliad often started the school year late because they were still working in the fields picking cotton. Survival was a priority for many of the rural families and meeting those needs prevented many Mexican children from attending school on a regular basis.

In an article entitled "GISD Enrollment Below Expected," published in the Goliad Advance Guard, 19 September 1963, Norman S. Davis, Goliad School Superintendent, described the problem of late-arriving students as one confronting most school districts in the state. "We wish we didn't have to fool with it at all," he said, "but it's always there." This attitude had an impact on the achievement of Mexican American children returning from the fields and entering school. "Late arrivals" he said, "are terribly handicapped." In addition, Mr. Davis, school superintendent, stated "they never really have a chance to catch up and never achieve what would be possible if they had not missed the important early weeks of school." Low expectations and ignorance of best practices perpetuated the inadequate education of a least served population during that time in the Goliad schools.

Mrs. Garza recounts, "we would miss about two or three days because we had to work in the cotton fields in the beginning and continued to miss throughout the school year to work at home or in the fields." Eugenio Garza, husband of Elida Garza, stated in an interview that he recalled starting school several weeks late because his family used to travel to East Texas to pick cotton. "We used to get back and we did not want to go to school because all the ones on our grade was already too far and we could not start from there because it was too hard. I quit in the fifth grade." Black (1997, 25) adds that students often had to repeat schoolwork because they were never there long enough to finish the class, making it difficult to be promoted to higher-grade levels and progress through the curriculum.

Struggling for Equality

For the Mexican-American community, the end of the Second World War signaled the beginning of a new era in the struggle for equality (San Miguel 1987, 13). In parts of the Southwest and Texas, educators argued for the inclusion of Mexican-American children in white schools if English were to be learned by the bilingual students (San Miguel 1978). Records do not indicate Goliad Mexicans seeking any kind of legal action against Goliad County for the inequities in the educational school system. The social climate in the small town community facilitated a more peaceful effort to gain educational access for all children. Much of the campaign to eliminate segregation for Mexican-Americans in Goliad, according to Lillie V. Ybarbo, a life-long Goliad resident, was aided by the American G. I. Forum, a civil rights organization devoted to securing equal rights for the Mexicans.

The Mexican-American School, as Mrs. Ybarbo remembers it called, in Goliad was one of four schools in the county that segregated Mexicans from the white student population until they reached a designated grade level. According to Lillie V. Ybarbo, a 1951 graduate of Goliad High School, Mexicans were no longer segregated and were all permitted to attend the all white school system in the 1940s. In another interview conducted by this author, Austin Frederick, a student at the Berclair Colored School also verified, "after a period of time, the Hispanic (Mexican) Americans relocated at the white school." Mrs. Elida Garza recalled attending school

in Goliad with white students but for a very short time because she dropped out shortly after enrolling in school while still in the third grade.

Taking it to the Courts

In January 1948, the League for United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was instrumental in helping parents of four Central Texas communities file suit against state officials for alleging segregation of Spanish speaking children because they were of Mexican descent (San Miguel 1978). The *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District* case involved LULAC and parents in Texas (San Miguel 1978). Judge Ben H. Rice ruled for the plaintiffs on June 15, 1948 stating segregation of Mexican-American children was unconstitutional and in violation of the "Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States" (San Miguel 1987.). In a personal communication from L. A. Woods, State Superintendent, State Department of Education in Austin, Texas, to all Texas public school superintendents dated July 28, 1948, he urged all public school superintendents to follow instructions and regulations based on a decision of the Federal Court. In his communication to all school officers of county, city, and town school districts, the memorandum included:

> it is permissible to have separate classes in the first grade for any students who have language difficulties, whether the students be of Anglo American, Latin American or any other origin. Such separate classes shall be formed only for instructional purposes on the same campus and with the same school facilities as are available to all other first grade students. These separate classes should be formed only for students who clearly demonstrate that they do not understand English sufficiently to follow even the simple classroom teaching process.

The legal opinion on segregation was ineffective, for no mechanisms to secure compliance were established and no guidelines for implementing these steps were provided to local school officials (San Miguel, 1987, page 120).

According to Lillie V. Ybarbo, the Mexicans in Goliad were integrated into the all white school system somewhere close to 1947. LULAC's involvement in helping Mexican-Americans in Texas proved to be a force in accessing educational opportunity. A ruling, June 15, 1948, in favor of the plaintiffs, Bastrop Independent School District, Elgin Independent School District, Martindale Independent School District, and the Colorado Common School District of Travis County, Texas, was a successful triumph not only for them, but also for many other Mexicans in Texas.

Furthermore, the edict was a reminder to all school districts that segregation had been consistently interpreted, by the Texas courts as well as the Texas legislature, to include only those persons of Negro ancestry or belong to the Negro race. The Spanish-speaking students of Goliad, Texas, were not to be denied their educational experience in the 1940s, but the need for special services in helping the Spanish-speaking child in school was never fully validated until the early 1960s.

> The Goliad Advance Guard, local town newspaper, (Special Course 1960) noted a special class to familiarize pupils who will need help in understanding the English language will be instituted of the first time by the Goliad Public School this summer. The class will begin Monday, June 6 and will continue through August 5. Classes will be held in Mrs. Hatty Swickheimer's room at the primary building starting at 8 a.m. and ending at 12 noon, Monday through Friday of each week. No tuition charge

will be made for this class since it is part of a statewide program and most of the expenses will be paid for by the state.

Concluding Observations

According to Ogbu (1987, 269), a school's responses to exploitation and subordination make it difficult for minorities to learn and demonstrate persevering academic attitudes and efforts required for success in school. In an editorial in the *Austin American Statesman*, 1 January 1999, Gary Orfield acknowledged that the gigantic problems of race and inequality grow directly from the country's history and social structure. He also believes the gains made between the 1950s and late 1970s are in danger of being lost. Mellander (1999, 2) reports that the disturbing demographic trends in the resegregation of Hispanic children will be an obstacle toward building the bridge to an inclusive, 21st Century America.

This paper is intended to fill a gap in the existing scholarly literature related to desegregation for several reasons. First, it chronicles the Mexican-American experience in a small historical town in Southeast Texas. Little is known, on a wider scope, about the desegregation experiences of Mexican-Americans in small Texas towns.

Second, case studies of desegregation in Texas are scarce. Why has not that part of Goliad's history been well documented in Texas history for future generations? When we talk about desegregation, we talk about the high profile cases and the issues usually focus on black and white conflicts. Whether it is for reasons of neglect or disinterest, many Goliad Mexican-American voices of the past are left out of the Texas history books.

Third, as a budding researcher, it is important to make my contribution in an attempt to add to the lack of published articles by authors with Spanish surnames.

As a final note, after more than a century of segregation, Goliad Independent School District no longer denies admission to an individual wanting to enter its halls. The question would be, once inside, are all children afforded the same quality instruction? Now that Goliad and other school districts around the country have complied with the law, has the school culture been willing to capitalize on the students' cultural backgrounds rather than attempting to replace or negate them?

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Drawing from the Past: The Chicago Art Institute and the Chicago Public Schools, 1879-1914

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The purpose of this study is to examine the development of the normal school at the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC) and its relationship with the Chicago public schools. The AIC was one institution that altered its teacher training only after progressive learning theories had crept into the public schools. Between the AIC's incorporation in 1879 and the death of its first director, William French, in 1914, the AIC supported the schools by expanding from pure fine arts classes in painting, drawing, and sculpture to vocational programs. Cooperation between the AIC and the Chicago public schools led to a rise in attendance at the AIC and an expanded curriculum there. Yet how did external factors prompt the development of the normal art department at the AIC? What was the relationship between the AIC and the Chicago public schools and why was it significant in the advancement of art education? What role did the AIC play in shaping the public school art curriculum between 1880 and 1914? How did the Chicago Public Schools affect the direction of instruction at the AIC?

Drawing Differences

Clearly, differences existed between the kind of art created at the AIC and in the public schools during the 1870s and 1880s. Before the 1870s, drawing in the Chicago public schools was virtually nonexistent. When the Chicago schools introduced drawing into the primary grades in 1857, the schools closely linked it with neat penmanship and relief from monotonous recitation (Wetton 1938, 3). After the 1870s, drawing relied heavily on popular industrial copy manuals that prepared students for the mechanical trades. Because businessmen and powerful commercial interests supported drawing, it grew in prominence in the schools (Clark 1897, 76).

In contrast to the industrial copybooks used in the public schools, students at the AIC worked in the conservative academic tradition, an idealized style which stressed conformity to long-established European standards in fine art. Beginning students at the AIC drew from plaster copies of antique Greek statuary and advanced students painted from the live model. The study of the human form was central to academic art. When the AIC opened its doors in 1879, its original purpose was the cultivation of professional artists through classes in drawing, painting, perspective, and anatomy.

By 1894, school catalogues indicated that the AIC also offered specialized courses in design and architecture. In 1895, the AIC added normal instruction, the training of teachers and supervisors for art instruction in the schools. The *Chicago Times Herald* declared in the same year that the AIC was unique because of the range of studies. AIC Director William French stated that "normal instruction...is not ordinarily undertaken by art schools" (1902). In this respect, the AIC looked progressive and differed from other professional art schools at the turn of the century, even though it maintained academic courses.

Around 1895, the Chicago public schools also became unlike any others in the country in terms of drawing instruction (McDougall 1896). New educational theories in the schools caused Chicago to become the first American city "to give up the copy book process of teaching drawing in favor of more enlightened and progressive methods" (Monroe 1896). Drawing instruction in the public schools differed from the professional art school "in its close association

with other studies" (McDougall 1896). The public schools integrated drawing with subjects, while the AIC focused on a single subject, art.

Progressive Ideas Come to Chicago Public Schools

The *Chicago Times Herald* stated in 1899 that the new role of art in American schools was to help develop the whole child, to teach him to see, to think, and to imagine. This philosophy infiltrated the Chicago schools in the 1880s and 90s, but can be traced back to the ideas of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Friedrich Froebbel, and French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau who articulated in Emile (1762) his beliefs that children learn differently than adults (McDonald 1970, 320). In America, New England philosopher/educator Bronson Alcott embraced similar ideas and saw drawing as a means of expression. Decades later, another educator from Massachusetts, Colonel Francis Wayland Parker, who John Dewey considered "The Father of Progressive Education," called art a mode of expression. Parker became familiar with Pestalozzi's reforms when he visited schools in Prussia, Switzerland, and Holland. In 1902, Dewey told the Little Chronicle that Parker's innovations "roused the educational world as it had not been roused since Horace Mann" (Heffron 1934). Parker came to Chicago in 1883 (Depencier 1960) to become principal of the Cook County Normal School with a well-established reputation. Once in Chicago, he attracted powerful personalities (Heffron 1934, 28) who inspired the direction of American education (Haley, ed Reid 1982, 23).

Among Parker's early associates at the Cook County Normal School was Josephine Locke, teacher of art (Heffron 1934, 29). Locke came north from St. Louis where she had worked under superintendent William T. Harris (Haley, ed. Reid 1982). As Supervisor of Drawing for the grammar and primary grades, she was a key figure in the transformation of drawing instruction in the Chicago schools. According to the *Chicago Times Herald*, about a year after the Chicago school board appointed Locke Supervisor of Drawing in 1890, she dismantled the sterile copy book method that had been in place for twenty years (Monroe 1896). She reported to the board in 1892 that technique was subordinate to free-expression (Wetton 1938, 54 & 64). Locke was quoted as realizing there was "much more in all of this than simply making lines" (Ford 1896).

Locke intended for children to learn about art and not wait until they were intellectually ready for the special or technical school (Locke 1893). *The Chicago Post* quoted her in 1897 as stating that the mind of the child was at the center of instruction. Locke also integrated drawing with other subjects, such as geography, history, and literature, in the general curriculum. These ideas brought art instruction within reach of every school child. However, Locke and her staff might have been less successful if "their pathways as pioneers in education [were not] smoothed by the general cooperation of the school board and the Art Institute" (Ford 1897). For example, when Locke fought the Prang Company, which insisted students in the Chicago schools use their drawing books, the AIC understandably backed her "method of teaching students without the aid of set textbook models" (Haley, ed. Reid 1982, 87).

Locke's efforts broadened the scope of drawing from its purely technical basis (Wetton 1934, 52) into today's elementary art education. However, art did not secure its new function in the general elementary curriculum without overcoming at least two major obstacles. The new approach to drawing first required the use of classroom teachers who were sympathetic to the plan (Monroe 1896). Teachers had to want to instruct drawing in a new fashion. Where the copy books asked very little of teachers, the new drawing system demanded teachers to have more than a cursory understanding of art. Since the limited number of district art specialists visited

each classroom only once every eight weeks, the new approach left regular classroom teachers, untrained in art, in charge of drawing lessons the rest of the time (Monroe 1896). Teachers needed to appreciate how art benefited the development of all children in order for them to accept the new instructional approach. According to the *Chicago Post* in 1897, if it had not been for the "interest, sympathy and ability" of the school teacher, the high "standard of excellence could not have been attained."

Secondly, teachers required preparation in order to effectively instruct drawing. Yet few teachers themselves ever received professional instruction in the fine arts, les beaux arts, the category of art which stressed beauty over utility. A nineteenth century study provides insight as to why so few teachers had any systematic training as artists. Colonel I.E. Clarke's 1874 survey indicated that only eight colleges–Yale, Syracuse, Harvard, Michigan, Cornell, Rochester, Notre Dame, and Vassar–offered courses in the fine arts (Funk 1990). In 1900, still only forty-seven out of 422 United States colleges and universities offered any courses in art and their programs varied considerably (Frederick 1901). Not surprisingly then, nineteenth century public school teachers had little opportunity to prepare themselves for the teaching of art that did not rely on industrial copybooks. The AIC was therefore a rare setting at the turn of the century.

Increasing Enrollment

Actions taken by the Chicago school board caused an increase in enrollment at the AIC. When the school board attempted to elicit the talent of regular classroom teachers to instruct drawing as part of the regular curriculum in 1898, it encountered problems (Board of Education 1899). Teachers lacked knowledge to guide students through rudimentary art lessons because the district hired straight from high school and through a probationary "cadet system" (Clark 1897). Over the course of the next years, the school board appeared committed to raising the quality of teaching. However, the board's actions were also hollow attempts to hold the budget.

The board's 1906 "study course plan for promotion of teachers" (Bulletin 1908), offered increases to those who substituted five courses in specific subjects from an accredited institution, such as the AIC, in lieu of the examination (Bulletin 1908 Vol. 1, 40) (Board of Education Annual Report 1909, 17). The plan appealed to teachers and they entered the AIC which had few entrance requirements. In 1907, fifteen teachers discovered they could receive credit for courses taken concurrently (Haley 1982, 107). Eventually one-third of all Chicago public school teachers were members of the evening or Saturday schools (Bulletin Vol. II 1908). 1,547 public school teachers enrolled in 1907 when the total number of students at the AIC during the 1907-08 school year was 4,144 (Annual Report 1907-1908).

However, a sudden, temporary panic erupted in 1908 because credits came so freely. Chicago School Superintendent E.G. Cooley curtailed the privilege and struck the AIC from the list of accredited institutions (Bulletin 1908), but not before the school board spent some $200,000 on financial promotions (Board of Education 1909, 17). Teachers expressed to Director French, "the inspirational and educational value of the instruction at the AIC" (Bulletin Vol. II 1908, 11). Finally, the AIC and Chicago school board resolved the situation behind closed doors without a public explanation. While the school board never anticipated so many teachers would receive credits so quickly, AIC administrators measured its success by the number of students in attendance.

In 1895, the *Chicago Times Herald* claimed the AIC, a private school, was the largest art school in the U.S. with the most comprehensive programs in the world. This also included normal classes for the training of teachers. New educational philosophies inspired teachers to

take up the study of art and the AIC proudly claimed that "nearly all the advanced teachers of drawing in both public and private schools in Chicago [were] former students for the Art Institute of Chicago" (Catalogue 1896-97). In the Chicago public schools, the department of drawing acquired a reputation as having the most advanced thinking (Clark 1897). However, it was with the help of the AIC that the Chicago public schools were able to encourage art instruction that was "unlike any other in the country and not found formulated in any text book" (McDougall 1896). When the AIC adapted its curriculum to conform with the goals of the public schools (Circular 1895-96), it not only made an economic choice, but took one step closer to the image of a Progressive institution and further from its initial goal of a fine arts academy.

Creating a Museum and Art Academy

Before there was the Art Institute of Chicago, there was the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts whose original purpose was to maintain a school of art, exhibit works of art, and cultivate the arts (Circular 1898-99, 6). This school evolved out of the old Academy of Design founded in the mid 1860s by local artists. In 1882, the name changed to The Art Institute of Chicago, an act that signified the school's broadened image from a fine arts academy to a school that acknowledged a need for vocational training and the "demand for all kinds of art productions" (Circular1883).

The growth of both the school and museum caused the AIC to require larger facilities. After several moves, the AIC finally settled in its current location on Michigan Avenue and Adams. AIC officers selected the site, property adjacent to the railroads and once covered with rubble from the 1871 fire, during the planning of the 1893 Columbian Exposition. Charles Hutchinson, first president of the AIC, collaborated with the city of Chicago to have a permanent lakefront building constructed in a centralized location that the AIC would occupy after the Exposition. The officers' decision for the AIC to stand at the crossroads of the commercial district, rather than in an exclusive neighborhood, demonstrated an egalitarian spirit as well as good business sense. In order for both museum and school to gain in recognition and attendance counts, the AIC museum arranged two free days a week for visitation, provided culturally-enriching lectures, and exhibited local artists as well as Old World masters. The school in turn required no previous training to enroll in elementary classes and offered evening and Saturday classes for working people, which included school teachers. Through these incentives the AIC exposed the general public to art, but also acquired the students necessary for growth as a private business.

When the AIC incorporated in 1879, officers felt the curriculum required little adjustment in order to accommodate school teachers. With relative ease, the AIC acquired the few enrolled teachers into the academic drawing and painting classes. However, as early as 1886, the school advertised that there would be a Saturday class from 10 a.m. to 12 p.m. "in order to give those connected with the public schools an opportunity to study at the Institute" (School Circular 1886-87). Saturday sessions incorporated the kind of work done in the regular academic courses, such as "drawing from the flat" (two dimensional drawing) with charcoal, "drawing from the antique" (from plaster casts), and painting in oil and water colors.

In 1895, the *Chicago Times Herald* explained that because students entered the school with different interests, abilities, and time constraints, the AIC did not require a prescribed course of study for all students. Director French personally managed student schedules. With his guidance, it was therefore not "difficult for an intelligent student to work out a normal art course" (Catalogue 1894-95, 25). In the 1894-95 school year, AIC administrators continued to believe

that the school offered a range of drawing, painting, modeling, designing, and lecture classes with still no immediate reason for a specific normal department. However, according to the Chicago Times Herald, as of 1895, Director French expected to establish a normal department.

Organizing Normal Classes

In 1895-96 the situation changed. According to the school catalogue, the Supervisor of Drawing for the Chicago public schools, who at that time was Josephine Locke, consulted with administrators at the AIC. The AIC arranged for a normal course that extended over the entire year (Catalogue 1896-97, 22). For the first time, students who wished to give their whole time to teacher preparation had the opportunity to attend a Saturday normal art class (Catalogue 1896-97). The program was unusual because it took into account the work proposed for the public school children that year (Circular 1895-96) and generally art educators did not think how children learned. The AIC therefore acknowledged progressive ideology when it planned classes with children in mind.

Interest in the normal class was strong, perhaps suggesting that school teachers not only had interest in art, but feared losing their jobs if they could not teach the new curriculum. A general school survey at the AIC indicated that in 1897, out of 530 students, 117 aspired to be artists and 68 teachers (Gilmore 1982). The majority of the students in the Saturday normal classes were women. For example, student summaries indicated during the 1896-97 school year, 243 women enrolled and only three men. In 1900, 127 women and only four men enrolled. By 1912-13, ninety-two women and two men enrolled on Saturdays and another sixty-for women and two men for the weekday normal classes.

The normal classes offered novel opportunities, such as courses in imagination, pictorial storytelling, and outside sketching. During the first term, October through December, students studied nature, objects, and simple perspective (Catalogue 1895-96). In the second term, January to March, studies included exteriors and interiors of buildings, problems in perspective, block-building, household furniture, imagination, and art history (Catalogue 1895-96). In the final term, from April to June, students drew from casts of antique sculpture, designed elementary compositions, and studied the draped human figure (Catalogue 1895-96). If the normal program lacked the depth of the academic department, it had breadth in its coverage of skills.

Establishing the Normal Department

Director French stated that normal training gradually forced itself upon the AIC (Annual Report 1901, 40). Finally, a systematic program leading to a teacher's diploma crystallized. On September 30, 1901, the AIC Normal School of Art opened in order to prepare students as teachers of drawing or as supervisors of art education in public and private schools (Circular 1901-02). Because students spent half of their time in special training as teachers and the other half in the academic practice of drawing and painting (Annual Report 1902), the AIC integrated the normal students into the various branches of drawing and design.

Some entrance requirements existed for the normal school that did not apply to the regular academy, for example, students needed to be high school graduates, or the equivalent as determined by an examination (Catalogue 1901-02, 48). Numbers show there were far fewer students enrolled in the rigorous program, which took three years to complete, than those enrolled in the Saturday normal classes. In 1902, approximately thirty students registered in the Normal School and nineteen eventually received the first diplomas in 1903 (Gilmore 1982).

Courses taught in other normal schools, such as lectures on psychology and the theory of education, became part of the AIC curriculum. Among some of the benefits students received were model lessons demonstrated by instructors, a replica of a schoolroom for pedagogic studies, and visits to the public schools (Annual Report 1902, 38). By 1913-14, a typical first year normal program incorporated morning classes in academic drawing and afternoon classes in methods, mechanical drawing, design and construction, lettering, block drawing, still-life, and sketching from the figure. The course work was similar for the second year and third years, other than students focused on the study of the head and figure in charcoal and eventually worked in color. At the close of the program, students completed outlines for eight grades and high school and submitted works in charcoal and studies in color (Catalogue 1913-14, 43) in order to demonstrate proficiency before graduation.

By 1914, the curriculum taught at the AIC normal school closely matched that of a book series published by Scott, Foresman, & Co. for the Chicago schools. Both the AIC and the public schools considered knowledge of form, color, design, landscapes, figural compositions, and object drawing as important. Art instruction in both the public schools and the AIC looked very different from that of the 1870s, especially in its effort to keep "the development of the child's invention, individuality and appreciation of beauty" in mind (Catalogue 1901-02). Lectures presented at the AIC during exhibitions of public school drawings by Parker and Jane Addams, the founder of Hull House (Chicago Record 1897), also suggested how Progressive ideas influenced the AIC.

Conclusion: Drawing from the Past

In 1879, AIC officers wanted to create an institution in the image of the great European museums and art academies. However, the AIC did more than preserve past ideals. The AIC's central location, revolving exhibits of local artists, free days, cooperation with the Chicago public schools, expanded vocational courses, and minimum entrance requirements indicated that its purpose was to educate the community.

Public school art exhibits that took place over the next years originally spearheaded by Locke in 1895, further validated art education as a serious discipline. Director French saw galleries filled with work by children as an opportunity to publicize the museum and school, while Locke saw every child as a "latent picture gallery" (Crissey 1896). The 1899 exhibitions represented the latest educational theories (Ford 1899). The *Chicago Times Herald* in the same year stated that critics considered the exhibit as "one of the most progressive tendencies of modern public education." Dewey of the University of Chicago and others congratulated the "democratic art" displayed at the AIC (Crissey 1896).

It is apparent that the relationship between the AIC and the Chicago schools changed more than instructional methods in both institutions. Locke's method gave drawing instruction a new purpose, to awaken the creative soul (Ford 1896). In accordance with Dewey's theories, the new approach allowed the child to think in action and the watchword of the future became expression rather than repression (Ford 1896). Also, both the AIC and the Chicago public schools became tools for democratic change, the AIC when it established normal classes, the public schools when it integrated drawing with other subjects in the general curriculum. More children had access to art (Efland 1989, 185). For example, the *Chicago Eve Journal* cited in 1896 that in a single day, one thousand visitors out of 1,853 to the AIC were from the schools. The paper stated, "When an art gallery attracts the children of a city in such numbers, its real value as an educational factor must be acknowledged."

Where child study worked its way into public school art instruction during Locke's tenure, modern art, expressive and imaginative, thrust itself upon the AIC by the time of French's death in 1914. Modern historians have cited the radical 1913 Armory Show as Chicago's introduction to the Post-impressionists and Cubists. After the exhibit, everything embraced by the academic tradition eventually appeared sentimental and naïve (Martinez 1993). The idealism of the era waned as a world war approached and the foundational years at the AIC came to a close. Yet rather ironically, critics have often likened much of early twentieth century art to the immediate and bold statements once made only by children.

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Flappers, Bathtub Gin, and Gangsters: The Nature and Purpose of Character Education in Two Curriculum Models

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The Roaring Twenties ushered in an age of youthful rebellion and violence. Then as now, both civil and school authorities attempted to curb what they believed were demonstrations of disreputable behavior (Lockwood 1991, 246). As one writer put it "character shows up in conduct. A person of good character practices good conduct and refrains from bad conduct" (Wynne 1988, 424). Then as now, law enforcement agencies attempted to solve societal problems through traditional channels such as arrest and punishment, while numerous schools and school systems attacked social problems in the time-honored fashion of teaching character formation and values. One traditional avenue of teaching collective "American" values beginning with the Common School movement was through the Social Studies curriculum. However, a second academic area, Physical Education, also taught core civic values through its curriculum, yet these two distinct curriculum areas of Social Studies and Physical Education do not appear to have much in common. However, upon closer examination, their respective curricula share at least one fundamental goal: to teach character or citizenship development.

With the recent focus on character formation programs as a way to stem violence in schools, the researchers engaged in a dialogue regarding the nature of character education as they questioned the extent to which character development played a role in their respective areas, Social Studies and Physical Education. Social Studies seemed the most appropriate place to find evidence of character education's aims and goals (Lockwood 1991, 246; Greenwalt, 7; Berkowitz, 1998; Milson 1999, 3). Moreover, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) in its 1996 position statement declared that while the teaching of civic virtue is not exclusively within the province social studies education, "it falls most directly on social studies professionals." Despite the persistent view that character education is the special domain of the Social Studies, one must acknowledge that Physical Education teaches basic principles of character development through such concepts as fair play and good sportsmanship (Hager 1995; Hon and O'Conner; JOPERD, editorial 1993; Beller and Stoll 1993; and, Grant and Darley 1999). What is more, the current issue of violence in schools and character education programs as its "antidote" is not new, it dates back, in this century, to the 1920s, while character development as a national ideal can be traced to the national period and Thomas Jefferson (Benninga 1988, 415).

Jefferson and his contemporaries believed that the cultivation of civic virtues was necessary to ensure the stability and viability of the new nation. Despite the long history of character development as an ideal, competing groups and/or individuals over time have yet to form a consensus on what character development or character education should "look like" in practice. This lack of consensus notwithstanding, schools and school systems in the first quarter of the 20th century identified a set of behaviors that was supposed to demonstrate whether or not an individual student possessed traits that indicated good character. While the lists themselves may have helped to shape behavior owing to their evaluative function, course work was also expected to shape the character of students. The assumption, of course, then and now, is that character is a learned behavior. For example, in the period of the Common School, students engaged in readings on moral issues through

texts such as the McGuffey Readers, which were designed to instill character through stories that underscored community values such as loyalty, kindness, virtue, and altruism (Greenwalt, The Commonwealth Foundation, 3). However, by the first half of the 20th century, Social Studies programs had incorporated character education as a function, goal, and/or aim of its programs, and school report cards served to show if students had acquired the appropriate behaviors emphasized in the classroom. Yet, character education ideals were always a central feature of Physical Education programs, despite the inattention given to the physical education sciences as an avenue of character education by academic areas such as english and history or language arts and social studies.

The awareness on the part of the researchers that Physical Education and the Social Studies shared common goals sparked them to look at current and historical descriptions of character education practices. Their purpose was three-fold: 1) to understand what constituted traits of good character in the first quarter of the 20th century; 2) to understand how closely Physical Education programs reflected the development of these early traits; and, 3) to uncover the relationship that exists between the educational aims of character development in the Social Studies and the Physical Education curriculum for the purpose documenting this phenomenon and forging an alliance between these two subject areas. Today, writers such as Lickona (1991) and Fiske (1986) point out that a nation-wide call for a cross-curriculum approach to character education has already been issued and awaits implementation throughout all grade levels and subject areas. This effort may constitute a beginning. While character education has historically been a central component of both Social Studies and Physical Education, social scientists have largely ignored Physical Education's role and presence in terms of character education. Its absence in the literature on Social Studies and/or character education research is glaring. The authors will look at the following three areas: 1) a character education framework based upon the work of Nickell and Field; 2) references of character education in contemporary educational literature, particularly literature from the field of Physical Education; 3) and, observation of character education practice in four current Physical Education settings. The goal of the authors is to connect current practice to historic notions of character.

Background

The framework which largely supports the concept of character building in the Social Studies comes from a study (Nickell and Field, 1999) that looked at assessing the nature of character education in the 1920s and 1930s. While Nickell and Field (1999) found that early character education curriculum initiatives focused on how to "test" for character, a notion produced by the cult-of-testing-generation or the rise of psychometrics, the most helpful tool in bridging character education in the Social Studies with Physical Education were the several checklists these researchers provided. In the first example, Nickell and Field (1999) cited 20 Character Traits Most Listed by New York (State) School District In Order of Frequency, 1928-29" (Figure 1, 21). The 20 traits listed were as follows:

1. Responsibility
2. Initiative
3. Cooperation
4. Courtesy
5. Honesty
6. Sportsmanship
7. School spirit
8. Healthfulness
9. Leadership
10. Fair play
11. Neatness
12. Loyalty
13. Patriotism
14. Punctuality
15. Appreciation
16. Unselfishness
17. Morality
18. Respect for authority
19. Self-control
20. Service to Society

In a review of Physical Education literature, researchers cited most of the 20 listed traits as curricular aims of a Physical Education program. For example, one report claimed that throughout

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the history of public education "the inclusion of physical education and athletics in the curriculum has been justified on the basis of its contribution to the development of moral and ethical character, leadership, responsibility, citizenship" (JOPERD, editorial, 1993, 6). Hence, traits, 1, 9, and 17 were specifically cited, while citizenship and ethical character might fall under "service to society," patriotism, or "respect for authority." Hon (1994) spoke to the importance of team play and that fair play is more than just a sporting term, it is a way for individuals to live their lives. Moreover, fair play, trait # 10, permeates Physical Education literature. Others, such as Beller and Stoll (1993), cite sportsmanship and fairness as inextricable concepts, traits seconded in character education literature by writers such as Marvin W. Berkowitz (1998). Yet, unlike the 1920s and 1930s, the terms sportsmanship and fair play today hold new connotations. These terms have become mired in a sea of cultural relativism that holds that "...whatever someone considers moral is moral...," an argument which Beller and Stoll claim is used to excuse unsportsmanlike conduct. Hence, in Social Studies classrooms as well as Physical Education locker rooms, issues of character building are not only linked in terms of curricular aims, but also in terms of vulnerability to current philosophical and language trends.

A second form presented by Nickell and Field (1999) as evidence of character development in the 1920s and 1930s is a report card issued in Schenectady, New York, circa 1931 (Figure 2, 22). This particular page of the 1931 report card includes the following objectives under the title page "Progress in habits, Attitudes, and Characteristics:"

Example#2

I. As an IndividualBPersonal

1. Has good health habits
2. Obeys promptly and cheerfully
3. Does the right thing, whether told or not
4. Is careful of property
5. Takes pride in his work
6. Calls for help when necessary
7. Offers helpful suggestions
8. Completes what he begins
9. Has critical attitude toward his work

II. As a Member of the Group Social

1. Cooperates with the group in work and play
2. Has self control
3. Shows proper consideration for the rights of others
4. Does his part in keeping the school attractive
5. Claims only his share of attention
6. Is courteous to others

Physical Education programs have naturally addressed issues of fitness and health. Yet, health is not the first item, which comes to mind in a discussion of character traits. Nevertheless, report cards such as the Schenectady report card in Example #2, point to health as a character trait, a component of most Physical Education programs. As some fitness writers point out, Physical Education programs typically promote "...fitness and encourage healthy lifestyles" (Slade, 1999). Moreover, claims one author (Slade,1999), sports is the perfect medium to teach character attributes because in

Deweyan terms of a "lived experience," students are actually part of an activity which takes place "in real-life, [in] meaningful situations, and produc[es] healthy, active, alert students" (15). This emphasis on health is especially important to the improved health and quality of life for women and girls (Grant and Darley, 1999), a segment of the population that has traditionally struggled for equality in both the academic classroom and the physical education locker room. Physical health and its relationship to mental ability are not new, writers such as Plato spoke of this relationship and its importance. As for character development as an educational aim or goal, Lickona (1993) and Greenawalt (1996) suggest that character education has two goals: to help people become smart and good.

Observation of Character Education Practice in Four Physical Education Programs

During the 1999 school year, the authors visited Daniel Pratt Elementary School, Georgia Washington Middle School, Brewbaker Elementary School and Brewbaker Middle School in Montgomery, Alabama. The purpose of their visit was to observe physical education classes and interview physical education teachers. They looked for evidence of character formation throughout the lessons, within the hidden curriculum, and within the context of the interview. According to Wynne (1988), "it is easy to determine whether pupils are displaying or learning good character. We can see and hear them being polite telling the truth, observing the rules, practicing diligence, keeping the school building and grounds clean, and being helpful to other children and adults." With Wynne's words in mind, the authors visited Daniel Pratt Elementary School in order to observe first hand evidence of character formation. They visited a large fifth-grade class this large class resulted from combining three elementary classes held in a brightly lit and well-equipped gymnasium. The racial balance was 75% Caucasian and 25% African American.

Physical education teachers (two) engaged this large class in a team activity by selecting four players for each team (two teams). Each team was divided by a volleyball net. The object of the game was to grab a basketball from a bucket of balls located under the net and dribble it to a hoop at one end of the gym, complete a basket, and run with it back to the volleyball net and place it back in the bucket. The players had to make sure that they passed the ball to all team members. Those students not playing lined the basketball court and cheered for their team. Two students sat in the sidelines in wheelchairs. When teachers chose the second set of players, the two students in wheelchairs took their place on their respective teams. One inclusion student was able to use his arms to throw, while the other could only operate her electric wheelchair. However, the teacher had designed the game so that the student who could throw the ball did so to his other teammates who then ran with the ball. He wheeled himself down to the end of the gym where his teammates passed him the ball and he attempted to throw it in the hoop. The second inclusion student played the game by powering her wheelchair with the ball sitting on a tray in front to teammates who then took the ball and attempted to throw it into the hoop. All students on the sidelines cheered as enthusiastically for the inclusion students as they did for the others. This lesson clearly embraced educational aims of cooperation, inclusion, fairness, and following directions.

A review of Nickell and Field's (1999) third example of character traits which comes from a "Foundations for Character Education" bulletin generated by the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, board of public instruction in 1931, listed the following character attributes: courteous; charitable; gives credit where credit is due; has a sense of duty; fair; and persistent, among others. The Pratt elementary students demonstrated that they were in the process of "living" or experiencing many of these important traits. Certainly, the attribute of fair play was one area that Pratt elementary physical

education teachers attempted to inculcate in students when they encouraged them to share in the game with classmates whose physical limitations slowed down the pace of the game. As students exited the gym floor, the authors overheard one youngster say to another "the teacher told us to share." Throughout this lesson and the one that followed a third-grade class the teachers emphasized listening for instructions and following rules, behaviors that are also needed to succeed in an adult world. According to the teachers, Physical Education programs support aims and goals such as good citizenship, kindness, respect, and carry over into other academic areas.

At Georgia Washington Middle School, the authors visited a girls' physical education class. The locker room was clean, well lit, and decorated with information posters. Bulletin boards contained the following information: 1. A poster listing acceptable behavior; 2. Weekly schedule; 3) evacuation plan; and, 4) poster stressing learning, discipline, courtesy, and appreciation. The racial balance at Washington Middle School is 60% African American and 40% Caucasian. Students prepared to leave the locker room in sports clothes for a 30 minute period of calisthenics and track. At the end of the period all students reassembled in the locker room and quietly waited for instructions or announcements. Interestingly, when the bell rang indicating that students should change classes, no student moved or spoke. Their physical education teacher told them to "have a nice day," and the girls politely and quietly left the locker room. Discipline and respect were two character traits their physical education teacher stressed. She also stated to the authors that in her mind a healthy body leads to a healthy mind. Thus, in her mind, a direct link between physical health and mental ability is obvious and should be emphasized. She stressed that Physical Education programs promote leadership skills, fellowship skills, peer relationships, and moral development, and learning to care about oneself.

One of the most interesting observation experiences was in a Kindergarten class at Brewbaker elementary school. The authors observed the very first day of physical education class for some 35 students. Their classroom was in one wing of the main building with a door leading to the outside. The room was bright, cheery, orderly, and "safe." The carpet contained numbers which were assigned to individual students. On the first day of class students quickly learn what their number is and where they are expected to stand. The exercises that first day consisted of jumping and movement exercised to music. These young students were highly enthusiastic and listened carefully to instructions. Their classroom walls were covered with posters, which prompted to be courteous, be safe, listen, be responsible for wearing proper clothing, be quiet when entering and leaving PE, always tell the truth, play by the rules, and be a good sport. At one end of the room, the two physical education teachers had posted the food pyramid and the school-wide discipline plan: 1. Respect; 2. Respect school property; 3. Be prepared; and, 4. Do your best. As students left their physical education room, they saw the Brewbaker Pledge posted by the exit:

Today is going to be a great day
I will make good choices
I will encourage others to make good choices
I will respect all people
I will treat others as I want them to treat me

These young students had just started on their long journey toward learning how to be good citizens. The lessons they encountered through their physical education class are the same echoed throughout social studies classrooms across the nation and in countless journals reporting on character education: respect, honesty, fair play, safety, and courtesy.

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The last observation took place at the upper school or Brewbaker Middle school. The authors observed an eighth-grade boys physical education class. The difference between the eighth-grade girls class at Georgia Washington Middle School and the boys' class at Brewbaker was readily apparent. While the boys' class for the most part behaved in an orderly fashion, the boys themselves appeared far more outgoing and competitive. The skills of basketball were the focus of this class. Like Pratt elementary, Brewbaker High School contained an adaptive physical education class. While the regular class dribbled the ball and "took turns" throwing for baskets, the adaptive physical education teacher took his students to one end where they threw balls into a shortened basketball backboard. All students dressed out in navy blue shorts and a white tee shirt. Students are evaluated on dressing out as well as proficiency in skills. In an interview with the teacher, a student intern from Auburn University at Montgomery, the authors asked questions such as "what is the focus of a physical education program?" This particular intern replied that physical education programs should begin by developing proper movement. When asked why movement is an important attribute, the intern replied that movement (he avoided the word exercise) leads to a healthy body, which leads to a healthy mind. He stated that one only had to view students in an academic classroom and those who performed well also performed well in physical education classes. He went on to say that physical education training prepares one to live and work in a world where collaboration is important and team effort is the norm.

Conclusion

The definition of character education is, and has been, illusive. What we know is that some writers define it as collective values, civic virtue, or offer lists of individual traits that taken together provide insight into whether or not an individual possesses character or does not. Moreover, there is a general assumption that character is something that can be taught. In some ways, this assumption may suffer from the Behaviorists' notion that one need only modify environment in order to achieve a desired effect. Yet the question of whether character is something that can be taught still plagues some of us as it did the ancients such as Plato. Nevertheless, the prevailing attitude and that of early 20th century Americans is that not only can character be identified, it can also be taught. The authors remain unconvinced on this point.

Nevertheless, while 19th century educators focused on values' stories embedded in such texts as the McGuffey Readers as a way to build or shape character, 20th century academics sought to place character education within subject areas such as social studies or literature. With post-modernism not yet an influence in schooling matters, stories of heroes, a mainstay of early 20th century reading programs, and stories of United States' conquests and emergence as a world power immortalized in history textbooks, taught young Americans that as a nation we held a set of collective values. Thus, the American ideal was promoted throughout the daily experience of schooling from the pledge of allegiance to the morning prayer and in countless social studies and literature classrooms. Yet one curricular area as a staunch supporter of character education traits and virtues, Physical Education, remained shrouded or obscured, eclipsed by stories of heroes and heroic wars in social studies classrooms, like the story of George Washington, our first president, and his role in the American Revolution. Physical Education for most of the 20th century has been vastly under represented as a curriculum area in which one will find abundant examples of character development. It has existed in a real sense throughout the 20th century, in terms of character education, as a "hidden curriculum."

We are mindful that the pedagogical meaning of hidden curriculum refers to activities and events that occur not as part of the overt curriculum, but rather as everyday routines that influence school life. However, within the context of character education, the portion of Physical Education programs that teach or support character building appear to be "hidden" from the view of other subject areas such as the Social Studies.

Scores of articles on character education fail to take into account the central role that character education plays and has historically played in Physical Education programs, despite the fact that the literature base of Physical Education is filled with articles that deal expressly with character education as an aim or goal. At the outset, one of the writers' stated goals was to show the relationship that exists and has existed between character development/education and Physical Education programs. Several checklists of character traits found on report cards from the 1920s and 1930s, contained in a larger study by Nickell and Field, were compared to traits, aims, or goals, stated in a variety of Physical Education literature. The language on the 1920s and 1930s report cards was nearly identical to the stated purpose of Physical Education programs, both in its literature base, and in interviews with practicing Physical Education teachers. So what? The value of this paper, if there is one, is that it serves to show how each generation in the broadest of contexts grapples with such platonic themes as justice, citizenship, sportsmanship, and fair play. It also calls into question the idea that history or knowledge of the past can and does inform the present. Perhaps more than anything else, it alerts us to the fact that in the disciplines, we may be equal, but we are still separate, and as such, remain isolated so that students fail to grasp the notion that citizenship education or character education is one of the central aims of education. In the final analysis, we can say that the cross-curriculum approach to character education, advocated by writers such as Lickona in 1991, has existed for the better part of the American educational experience, yet we continue to toil in our respective vineyards largely unaware of the methods and materials of the other "farmer."

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Using New Computer Technologies for Oral History Interviews and Archival Research

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This paper will discuss two applications of computer technology that can enhance research with oral history or archival materials: 1) speech recognition software for generating field notes and interview transcripts, and 2) a dynamic database website to facilitate archival storage and research collaboration. The first application (speech recognition software) is presented in the context of applied research findings and recommendations. The second application (dynamic website) is offered as a readily attainable proposal to extend an existing use of technology. For the purposes of this discussion, oral history techniques and archival research methodologies are regarded as types of qualitative research.

The Need for Transcription of Oral History Records

Oral historians in the United States regard the transcript of an oral interview as the primary document, as opposed to the original audio recording (Ritchie 1995). Each interview is seen as a total package of words and phrases, each with an identity of its own. "This identity emerges from the audio to print medium through the transcribing process." (Deering and Pomeroy 1976, 1). Qualitative researchers involved in ethnography, phenomenology, and participant observation show less emphasis toward preserving the transcript as a historical record and more emphasis on the goal of generating electronic files. Electronic transcriptions are seen as the most re-usable resource for qualitative research. The interviews can be searched, re-interpreted, collected, and shared with other researchers in a more meaningful way and with much greater efficiency than any other medium. Not all qualitative researchers are in agreement that interviews need to be transcribed as part of the interpretation process. Mischler (1991) presents arguments against the need for transcription, while Poland (1995), Patton (1990) and Huberman and Miles (1994) argue that transcriptions must be made for interviews. In contrast, the author found only agreement amongst oral historians on the need to generate a transcript copy of tape-recorded interviews.

Most researchers regard transcription as time-consuming and expensive; the process can be seen as the most difficult step in conducting oral history (Sitton, Mehaffy, and Davis 1983). Estimates for transcription of one hour of interview tape range from between six and eight hours, plus additional time for auditing (Ritchie 1995); eight hours to generate between 24 and 40 pages of transcribing, plus two hours auditing and eight hours editing (Davis, Back, and McLean 1977); eight to ten hours (Martin 1995); to between six and twelve hours, but experience reduces this time expenditure (Deering and Pomeroy 1976). Qualitative researchers describe the transcription generation process as "labor intensive" and give an estimate of time needed to generate transcripts as ranging from a factor of 2.5 (Seidman 1998) to 4 times (Patton 1990), through to between 4 to 8 times the length of the interview, depending on the fineness of detail and familiarity with the content (Miles and Huberman 1994).

Researchers describing transcription in oral history belong to two main camps: the purists who wish to preserve the linguistic flavor of the interviewee and those who want to present a clear narrative flow for the reader (Ritchie 1995; also Allen and Montell 1981). Both positions present problems for the transcriptionist and the researcher. A rigorous attempt to capture the nuance of the speaker's language can often make the speaker appear uneducated

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(Deering and Pomeroy 1976). However, errors and distortions can result when an editor attempts to make narrative more easily understood by the audience (Farris 1980). Researchers from both camps, however, agree upon the need to reproduce a tape-recorded interview as a written record. This written record should be produced as soon as possible because tapes disintegrate over time. "But archivists note very few researchers ask to listen to the tape when transcripts are available... given a choice, researchers invariably preferred transcription over tape" (Ritchie 1995, 41).

Speech Recognition Software as an Enabling Technology

Speech recognition technology allows transcription to be more efficient and accessible for the oral historian. Fogg and Wightman (2000a) postulate that an interviewer with modest typing skill can use speech recognition technology to approach the productivity level of an experienced transcriptionist. This would result in decreased costs on the part of the researcher. Since the techniques involved with transcription by means of speech recognition software are not that difficult to learn, some of the transcription responsibilities can be passed on to graduate assistants and research assistants, who could benefit from more familiarity with the interviewing process. Martin (1995) describes the benefits that accrue to the interviewer who does his own transcription. The transcriber may find himself improving his own interviewing and listening and may be able to detect personal bias in his interview questions (see also Sitton et al 1983). Deering and Pomeroy (1976) describe a hybrid person, the "transcriber/editor" whose primary qualification is verbal skill instead of typing speed.

Using Speech Recognition for Transcription of Oral Interviews and Field Notes

Real-time transcription would occur if a qualitative researcher could carry on a conversation with one or more interviewees and an accurate electronic transcription could be generated at the same time. This scenario would clearly have advantages for immediate member-checking and faster analysis of content. This scenario is unattainable at this time for a number of strong practical reasons. Current software is designed for recognizing dictation produced by a single speaker, not dialogues. Add to this the need for very quiet background environments, the intrusiveness of requiring the interviewee to wear a headset-mounted microphone, the recognition errors created by word fragments and filled pauses, and the need for each speaker to complete several hours of enrollment training to tune the recognition models and the difficulties become far greater than can be justified. Better to concentrate on simply obtaining a good audio recording.

The oral historian should not split her cognitive resources between interviewing and real-time transcription. The interview recording is the most important acquisition: the rest is largely typing and editing. The oral historian needs to concentrate on obtaining the richest narrative data possible from the interviewee. It is best to concentrate your cognitive resources on obtaining the best oral interview possible and let a high quality microphone and tape recorder capture the oral record. Transcription with speech recognition can occur later.

The most reliable method for generating a transcript is for the transcriptionist to simply re-dictate (also called "ghosting") a recorded interview. The transcriptionist listens to the recorded interview and then repeats the sentences, including punctuation, into a high quality microphone in a quiet environment. Because the only voice being recognized is that of the transcriptionist (who can go through the full enrollment and model training process), and the re-dictation can be done in a quiet environment, the recognition accuracy can be quite high. Typically, the transcriptionist listens to the tape for one full sentence or thought, and then dictates

it into the program. Errors (either in dictation or in recognition) are typically edited using voice-activated commands at the end of each conversation passage (these roughly correspond to one paragraph of written text). This approach makes it easier to check the written text against the tape-recorded segment.

Generation of Field Notes in Archival Research

In this situation, the archival researcher is perusing stored material rather than interacting with a human being. Hence, the researcher has control over the pace, sequence, format, and inserted punctuation of the field notes as they are generated. In this case, real-time generation of electronic field notes is occurring. The archival researcher will need to use a mobile recorder or laptop computer (preferred) even though a desktop computer typically has faster processing speed, greater RAM, and more disk space available. A mobile recorder (fastened to the researcher's belt) with headset (which provides improved reception and hands-free operation) can be used for archival searching. The archival research is essentially "thinking aloud" while perusing the archival material in order to generate electronic field notes. If desktop space is available (as typically it is in a library situation), the archival researcher can use a laptop and headset to examine the generated notes after each document or artifact is commented upon. "Hands-free" generation of field notes with SR software provides another step in productivity.

Other Applications for Speech Recognition Software

The oral historian or archival researcher using speech recognition software may wish to use other opportunities to keep his skills sharp and expand the voice model stored in the speech files. The author has used speech recognition for e-mail correspondence, composing academic papers, annotating student papers, and producing classroom observation reports, all justified with the argument that SR applications save time which can later be used for interview transcriptions. A supplementary advantage is that the use of voice recognition software reduces risk of carpal tunnel syndrome, in the author's view, to a greater degree than suggested by Martin (1995) who advocated using transcription machines to alleviate this problem.

"Best Case" Utilization of SR Transcription vs. Conventional Transcription

It can readily be seen that, even given optimum computer processing speed and optimum cognitive processing (in this case, the user's ability to listen to a tape-recorded speech segment, understand it fully, and reliably repeat it with correct punctuation and disfluencies faithfully represented), the best that can be achieved for transcription speed is a mere doubling of the recorded interview time. That is, a recorded sentence that took ten seconds for the interviewee to utter takes ten seconds for the SR transcriptionist to listen to and about ten seconds for the SR transcriptionist to repeat into the headset. The newest versions of SR software do not lag appreciably behind the transcriptionist's speech in generating electronic text. However, the SR transcriptionist may still need to (in ways not yet empirically studied by the author) make editing changes of the recognized speech. The length of time to generate a voice recognition transcription can be seen to increase to the point where it exceeds the length of time needed for an experienced conventional transcriptionist to type a recorded interview.

Beginning transcriptionists are typically paid ten to twelve dollars per hour, a consideration never far from the mind of the author. Trained conventional transcriptionist are regarded as performing well if they can convert 80 words per minute speaking rate into 30 words

per minute typing speed. The author, for a recent qualitative research study, achieved a comparable skill level with SR transcription by converting a set of 20 minute tape-recorded interviews into transcription sessions lasting no more than an hour: a factor of three increase. However, this cannot be regarded as a stable estimation because there is so much variance in the clarity with which interviewees speak (personal communication, Donna Wetzel, instructor for medical and machine transcription, Rasmussen College). The difficulty of interpreting tape-recorded interview speech could be seen as a common problem for both the conventional transcriptionist and the SR transcriptionist, with a possible advantage of familiarity for the SR transcriptionist if she conducted the original interview.

The Convergence of Two Technologies for Improving Oral History and Archival Research

The first contention of this paper is that adoption of SR techniques allows middle-grade skilled workers (graduate students or under-funded researchers) to operate at the high ends of productivity achieved by conventional transcriptionists, realizing economic savings and increases in expertise. The transcripts represent primary data that could be shared and pooled amongst qualitative researchers, once issues of confidentiality are resolved. To further that end, Fogg and Wightman (2000b) have developed the Qualitative Research Archive (QRA) to facilitate shared primary data amongst researchers. Taken together, improved productivity in generating transcriptions (with the improved methodological rigor which it affords) and a venue to permit collaboration amongst researchers (the second contention of this paper), the author hopes to assist in enhancing the value and utilization of qualitative research, including oral history and archival research.

Electronic Archiving of Oral Histories and Historical Records

The Qualitative Research Archive (QRA) is a dynamic website developed to function as an archive for raw data from qualitative studies, but it is readily adaptable as a site for oral historians or archival researchers. A dynamic website is searchable and returns only the results that have been specified by the user. This specificity of response is readily contrasted with the limited functionality of a static website, which takes the user through a fixed sequence, although branched choices are available. The majority of websites in current use are static. Prototypical examples of dynamic websites are the ERIC, Scholastica, and PsychLit website databases that permit the user to specify keywords parameters.

Three arguments can be advanced for promoting the use of a dynamic website for oral historians and archivists:

1) The logical premises underlying the argument for pooling data for qualitative analysis also extend to oral historians if two or more researchers have independently conceived studies that are convergent in theme or purpose.

2) The storage and download facilities of a dynamic website would greatly facilitate searching of archival materials and storage of facsimile images of valuable and irreplaceable source material.

3) Storage of oral interview transcripts or historical materials is more readily assured because permission for dissemination of this content has already been implicitly obtained from interviewees or custodians of archival materials.

The discussion that follows is intended to establish evidence for each of the three arguments and to culminate in an invitation for further discussion about possible trial implementation efforts.

Opportunities for Collecting and Disseminating Oral History Interviews and Archival Materials

The QRA permits easy uploading and downloading of text, visual, or sound files to the website after permission is given by the web administrator. The archive allows the wider dissemination of source material to allow collaboration amongst qualitative researchers and was designed to answer some of the prominent criticisms often leveled against qualitative research (small sample size, individualistic interpretation, and narrow generalizability). The data is often intensive for the cases examined, but the cases are not numerous. Because it takes so long to assemble and analyze the data, researchers end up with studies that are too local and, hence, difficult to generalize (Donmoyer 1999). The interpretive power in data analysis becomes greater due to increased sample size from a larger data pool and it can permit blending of qualitative and quantitative analytical techniques. Technologies that permit sharing of source data may also lead to standardization of interview protocols amongst collaborative researchers (Michael Patton, personal communication). Supporting the storage of masked primary sources can more readily allow audit trails (Janesick 1994; Lincoln and Guba 1994), member checks (Lincoln and Guba 1994), and support of alternative explanations (Patton 1990), all techniques seen as useful in establishing interpretive validity (Altheide and Johnson 1994; Atkinson 1994).

Advantages of Electronic Storage and Searching

The advantages of a dynamic website like the QRA for historians and archival researchers may lie more in its storage capabilities. Storage and dissemination of archival material is seen as a major problem for historians in terms of accessability (Duff 1998), retrieval (Miller 1997, Hill 1993, and Sitton et al 1983), and security (Trinkau-Randall 1998). A resource like the QRA allows wider dissemination and relatively inexpensive storage capacity for prescreening of archival materials that are stored in electronic form (transcriptions, field notes, and digitized photos). The QRA provides search capability by author, keyword, or description, and uploading files and website administration is seen to be relatively straightforward (Fogg and Wightman 2000b).

The author's position is that electronic storage of archival records will greatly alleviate the costs traditionally associated with storage of paper documents. Ritchie (1995, 136) describes other methods (future use of the Internet) of electronic storage as overcoming the problems associated with publication of preprints. Electronic storage also avoids the problem of selling reproduction rights to microfiche publishers. "Putting oral histories and indexes on the Internet system, which would vastly increased their use, is also a possibility." (Ritchie 1995, 142).

Issues of Informed Consent and Confidentiality

Earlier writers (Card and Peterson 1991; Sieber 1991), commenting upon the sharing of quantitative social science data worried more about acknowledgment of the sources of data than about potential confidentiality problems. Informed consent would seem to be less of a concern for oral historians. Implicitly, the interviewee expects that her story will be gathered, interpreted,

and disseminated. The QRA represents another medium for doing so, with initial safeguards (but not subsequent safeguards after downloading) for those who access the record.

Conclusion

Two forms of computer technology have been presented in this paper as recommendations to improve oral history and archival research methodology. Speech recognition technology allows for more efficient production of oral history transcripts and field notes. Dynamic websites, whether considering the current QRA website or a future website designed especially for oral history archives, allow for more efficient storage, easier preliminary search, and wider dissemination of archival material. The alignment of both computer-based production of transcripts (through speech recognition technology) and computer-based archival storage may permit a unified practice of historical research (the field researcher and archivist can operate in overlapping roles) in contrast to disjoint and specialized types of expertise.

Researchers interested in increasing their productivity in transcription generation are encouraged to adopt the techniques given for using SR software. Benefits of using speech recognition technology for transcript generation, as opposed to conventional manual transcription, include a greater rate of productivity for researchers who possess only moderate typing skill, a reduced cost of production compared with hiring a professional transcriptionist, the opportunity for greater familiarity with the source material, and greatly reduced risk of repetitive strain injuries (such as carpal tunnel syndrome) associated with conventional transcription. Researchers with modest typing skills and with limited research funding who routinely employ speech recognition technology can approach the speed and accuracy rates of conventional transcriptionists.

Computer-based storage of oral history transcripts or audio recordings or digital photo representations of historical documents or artifacts permits greater access by historical researchers ranging in skill from novice to expert. Computer-based archives reduce expense of storage by the host institution and easier search access reduce travel time and expense by the researcher at the preliminary stage of research. Extending these capabilities into a dedicated website for members conducting historical research allows for increased collaboration between scholars and the possibility of synergistic advances in scope and power of interpretation (Fogg, Smith, Tunks, and Wightman, 2001). Researchers interested in extending the existing capability of the QRA website to a separate site for housing oral histories and/or archival material are invited to contact the author for further discussion.

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There's No Place Like Home: The Modern Home School Movement, 1980-Present

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Educational historian, Joel Spring, defines the time period of the 1980's and 1990's as a breakdown in the common school ideal of unifying the nation around a Protestant Anglo-American culture. This shift in ideology created a climate that empowered school choice, privatization, and charter schools (Spring 1997, 403-404). During the 1980's small groups of parents concerned over academics, socialization, physical safety, and moral and religious training, looked at the current choices for schooling and chose "none of the above". These groups of concerned parents were the beginnings of the modern home school movement. One author defines this movement in the following manner: "This phenomenon is more accurately described as home-based education because the majority of families use the home as a springboard into a range of community-based activities and investigations..." (Meighan 1997, 3). Prior to the early 1980's few people had heard of home schooling. If they had heard anything, it was usually about some obscure segment of society. In fact, one father in Utah reported, "When you say 'home school' to the people in this area, they think immediately that we're a group doing weird things . . ." (Mayberry et al 1995, 1). Since that time, the modern home school movement has grown to the extent that the majority of people have at least a limited understanding of the movement.

This paper will examine the modern home school movement from the 1980's to the present. It will look at why parents began electing to educate their children at home rather than enroll them in "traditional schools." The main focus of this paper will investigate the question: Has home schooling proven to be a viable option? In answering this question the following areas will be researched: students' academic achievement, socialization, the effect on society, and student satisfaction with their schooling. While exploring the results across the nation, a parallel look at the impact of the home schooling movement in Whiteside County, Illinois has been taken.

Home schoolers boast of the fact that men such as Patrick Henry, George Washington, Mark Twain, and John Quincy Adams were home schooled for all or large portions of their education. Although home school educators can boast of such a heritage, the modern home school movement actually began in the early 1980's with about 60,000 to 125,00 children receiving home based education (Mayberry et al 1995, 7). This relatively small band of parent educators set out as modern educational pioneers. In doing so, these pioneers faced many of the same struggles as the public schools. Education in America has seldom been without controversy. From the Common School to the Progressive Era to our modern public schools, historians find much cynicism and criticism of our educational institutions. The home schooling movement has not been exempt from these judgments in its quest for legitimacy.

In 1983, only three states in the USA had legislation that explicitly recognized the right to operate a home based school: Ohio, Nevada, and Utah (Farris 1997, 29). Legislation in these states may have been influenced by large populations of religious groups such as the Amish in Ohio and Mormons in Utah. Many other states had laws that banned home schooling unless the parent had a current state teacher's certification. Thus, the parents who wished to educate their children at home had very limited options. Due to the growing demand of parents wanting to legally home school, in March of 1983, Michael Farris (a constitutional lawyer from Virginia) and some associates formed the Home School Legal Defense Association (HSLDA).

In 1983, three families from Whiteside County, Illinois joined the home school movement. The Jacobs of Sterling, Illinois was one of these families. Prior to becoming parents, Deb Jacobs was teaching Spanish for the Sterling public schools. Upon the birth of their first child, Nathan, Jacobs quit her teaching position to be a stay-at-home mom. As she and her husband discussed the education of their children, they realized they were not persuaded by either the public school or the private Christian school alternatives. Jacobs felt that the school system was a gamble. From her own experiences as a teacher, she knew that there were some very excellent, as well as some very poor teachers in the school system. They did not want to leave the quality of education for their children to chance. As they discussed their dilemma with a close friend, he suggested, "Why not teach your children yourselves?" The Jacobs at first thought, "No way", but as they weighed the pros and cons, they elected to begin home schooling that year (Jacobs 1999).

When the Jacobs family began home schooling, they did not have to worry about many legal objections. The Jacobs had the good fortune of living in the State of Illinois. Thus, they did not face many of the legal problems parents from other states faced. Long before the Jacobs became involved in home schooling, legislative action stated it was legal for parents to educate their children at home. In 1950, the Illinois Supreme court ruled in *People v. Levisen* (404 Ill. 574, 90 N.C. 2d 213 (1950)) that a home school is a private school. Therefore, a home school is to be viewed the same as a non-accredited private school in the State of Illinois (Christian Home Educators Coalition 1999, 2). Since that ruling, the courts in Illinois have held consistently that the term private school has been extended to home schooling (All of the Illinois Home Education Laws in One Place 1999, 4).

Realizing that parents who home school may "feel like an island", the Jacobs and two other families founded the Sterling Rock Falls Christian Home Educators in 1983. The name has recently been changed to Sauk Valley Christian Home Educators. This group proved to be beneficial to home schoolers in Whiteside County. Parents were able to exchange ideas, discuss scholastic books, plan and organize field trips, and act as a support group.

The first year of its establishment, the Sterling Rock Falls Christian Home Educators attended the Illinois Christian Home Educators Convention at Trinity College in Chicago. Jacobs describes the convention as her first introduction to the home school movement at large. The convention continues to be held today on a yearly basis. The effectiveness of the home schooling parent has improved because of the various workshops provided at these conventions. For example, at one of the workshops, Jacobs learned how to write transcripts.

According to Jacobs, Michael Farris (founder of HSLDA) has spoken at all of these conventions. It has probably been the HSLDA efforts and other supporting legislative groups that have been the greatest influence on the growth of the home school movement. The efforts of HSLDA through legislation pushed the movement into the public eye and helped to legitimize the movement. The first step that the HSLDA took was to file a number of affirmative action lawsuits in an attempt to repeal old state laws that made home schooling illegal. The first case of this nature was in the state of Washington. During the course of that lawsuit in 1985, the state passed a new home school law that was, in Farris' words, "quite lenient for that time." (Farris 1997, 30). By the end of 1985, thirteen other states passed home school bills.

Although home educators in Illinois experienced great freedoms, parents were still concerned about legislation on the national and state level. In 1986, the group called Christian Home Educator Coalition (CHEC) was organized in the State of Illinois (Christian Home Educators Coalition 1999, 5). CHEC was set up in order to protect the rights of all home

schooling families in Illinois. From the onset, they have worked as a volunteer organization to monitor any legislation in the Illinois General Assembly, which they determine to be detrimental to home schooling in Illinois. The group has kept home schoolers informed on candidates' position on the home schooling movement. Through e-mail, phone update lines and a bi-monthly newsletter called the *CHEC Connection*, CHEC has been able to keep home schooling families informed on the latest federal and state legislation. CHEC also has grassroots lobbyists who are willing to talk to legislators as needed. In 1988, they organized the first annual Legislative Day, held each spring in Springfield, enabling parent educators to establish relationships with legislators.

The late 1980's and early 1990's proved to be a great time of growth for the home schooling movement. In 1987, Patricia Lines, a policy analyst with the Department of Education reported that there were around 260,000 children being home schooled in the United States (Guterson 1992, 115). "By 1990, according to one report, that number had doubled, and the national press could no longer ignore them, especially when home schooling children began to succeed--reaching the final round of a state spelling bee, for example, or enrolling at such colleges as Harvard." (Guterson 1992, 115).

In spite of early numerical growth along with political and academic success, the modern home schooling movement had not reached the status deserving of a successful movement. A look at what educational policy makers thought during this time period sheds some light on some of the reasons why home schoolers were not looked upon as a legitimate group. In 1991, 118 school district superintendents from Washington, Nevada, and Utah were surveyed on their knowledge and perception of the home school movement (Guterson 1992, 95). They were asked to compare home schools with the public schools. It is important to note that the superintendents were in charge of setting the policy for home schools. The study showed that the superintendents believed that 75% of the home school teachers were below average in their ability to teach. At the same time, they believed that public school teachers ranked 93% above average. When looking at academic standards, these same superintendents believed that 47% of the home schools were below average with the public schools having only 4% below average and 76% above average. Student socialization was rated 92% below average for home schools while public schools came out 82% above average.

As will be shown, the superintendents' understanding of the home school movement was far from reality. It also is apparent from this survey that these educators presumptuously overrated their own educational institutions. Based on these opinions, it is not difficult to see why it has been an uphill battle both philosophically and legally for proponents of home schooling.

Without a doubt, all the efforts of home school proponents would be null and void if it were not for the proven successes of children that were educated at home. Before looking at the data on home school achievement, it is essential that we first look at some of the research dilemmas. One of the first problems is finding data on home schoolers because some states do not require standardized testing. For example, the State of Illinois has been one of the more lenient states when it comes to home schooling. According to the HSLDA, if parents wanted to home school their child in Illinois, no notification needed to be given to the local school district. Furthermore, there was no required state testing (Farris 1997, 172-173). This is still true today. Thus, if someone wants to look at the success of home schooled children in Illinois they probably would have to find the parents, test the children, and then compile the data themselves. Some of the other problems associated with gathering data as researched by Divoky 1983 and

Lines 1982 stemmed from both ideological and legal reasons (Mayberry et al 1995, 4). Many of these home schoolers did not want any government intervention in their schooling. Furthermore, in some states these home schools were operated without being registered with the local school district.

In spite of the various difficulties involved in studying and researching data on home schoolers, many aspects of the home schooling movement have been researched throughout its history. Some of the most inquiring research has been on socialization. "What about socialization? Anyone who has been home schooling longer than two weeks has been asked this question dozens of times." (Farris 1997 123). To anyone who has studied the history of education, this question may sound rather ironic. During the Progressive Era of education, William Harris pushed for public schools to substitute socialization because "Traditional socializing agencies like the family, church, and community had collapsed." (Spring, 1997, 201). The irony is that as time went on families relinquished their duties to the point where it became the belief that the school is not only the primary means of socialization but it is now their duty:

> Some reformers have entirely capitulated to these conditions, acquiescing to the historical fate of families, and now espouse schools to do what families once did: schools, they assert, should be open dawn to dusk in every season of the year, providing day care, meals, advice about birth control, counseling for teenage alcoholics, sex education, AIDS education, late-afternoon volleyball, basketball, and badminton, and finally Home and Family Life courses in which children learn about–what else?–the home and family life they have left behind. (Guterson 1992, 184)

In 1992, Larry Shyers conducted a study comparing social skills of home schooled children and schooled children (Meighan 1997, 6). The study examined behavior patterns. The results of the study showed that the home schooled children were better socially adapted than their classroom schooled peers. "Shyers concludes that we are asking the wrong question when we ask about the social development of home-schooled children. The real question is that of why the social adjustment of schooled children is of such poor quality." (Meighan 1997, 6). The explanation the author of the study gave for the difference was that home schooled children were not socialized just to get along with their own peers. Home schoolers had a better opportunity to encounter and communicate with people of various age groups. "Activities ranging from scouts, dance class, and 4-H to sports, field trips, and volunteer work demonstrate that home schoolers interact with people of all ages, from all sorts of backgrounds, and all types of social settings." (Farris 1997, xxviii). In addressing this question, Farris states that home schooled children are actively involved in their communities. On the average, home schooled children are involved in 5.2 activities outside the home. Furthermore 98% are involved in two or more (Farris 1997, xxvii). The evidence of social success has not just come from those who have a direct affiliation with home schooling. In fact, "a slew of doctoral dissertations have been written on the social adjustment of home schoolers". According to Mary Anne Pitman, a social anthropologist at the University of Cincinnati, "the preponderance of evidence is they're fine" (Russo 1999, 2).

In 1993, Gary Knowles, from the University of Michigan, conducted a study that investigated further into the aspect of socialization of home schooled children. In researching for this study, he surveyed adults who had been home schooled. He discovered that over 75% felt that being educated at home had actually helped them interact with people from different levels of society. Secondly, he found that 96% stated that if they were to live their lives again they

would want to be schooled at home again. Finally, he found that no one in this sample was unemployed or on welfare assistance (Meighan 1997, 7-8).

A major criticism of previous studies is the small sample size and the fact that all were done on volunteers who knew the results of their test scores before they agreed to take part in the study. Thus, despite the fact that study after study conducted throughout the 1990's show that home school students out performed their peer counterparts, speculation still remains (Meighan 1997, 5-13). However, many of the skeptics may have been silenced by a 1998 study. This study and other recent studies have great importance because of the fact that the modern movement at large is nearing its twentieth year. Because of the length of its existence, the home school movement has had the time to produce a generation of adults that have been home schooled all their educational lives. Thus, these students are now in high school, college, and a part of the national work force. If home schooling is to be shown as a viable option, results at this particular time period are essential due to the fact that sufficient time has been given to show credibility.

As the results of the 1998 ACT calculated, home schooled students proved to have performed exceptionally well. The average home schooled student was placed in the 65th percentile of all ACT test-takers (Rudner 1999, 29). In the spring of 1998, 20,760 K-12 home schooled students were administered either the Iowa Test of Basic Skills (ITBS) or the Test of Achievement and Proficiency (TAP), depending on the student's current grade level. In addition to the nationally-normed test, parents were also given a questionnaire with various demographic questions. The study was funded by HSLDA and authored by Dr. Lawrence Rudner (director of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Assessment and Evaluation at the University of Maryland).

This study was significant for numerous reasons. First, this is the largest study ever conducted on home schooling in the United States. Second, families chose to participate in the study before they knew their children's test scores, which were compiled from the same nationally-normed test. Third, the study's results were consistent with the previous studies done by home schooling proponents. Michael Farris had the following to say about the results. "We have always known that home schooled students excel academically. We now have an independent verification of that fact". (HSLDA Media Releases 1999, 1).

The study sought to answer the following questions: Does home schooling tend to work for those who choose to make such a commitment? That is, are the achievement levels comparable to those of public school students? Who is engaged in home schooling? That is, how does the population differ from the general United States population? (Rudner 1999, 2).

The results from the study proved to be outstanding for the home schooled students. The major academic findings of the study are reproduced below (Rudner 1992, 27).

- Students who have been home schooled their entire life have higher scholastic achievement test scores than students who have also attended other educational programs.
- There are no meaningful differences in achievement by gender, whether the student is enrolled in a full-service curriculum, or whether a parent holds a state issued teaching certificate.
- There are significant achievement differences among home school students when classified by amount of money spent on education, family income, parent education, and television viewing.

The study also noted some major demographic findings (Rudner 1999, 27).

Home schooled parents had more education than parents in the general public; 88% continued their education beyond high school compared to 50% for the nation as a whole. Also the median income for home school families was $52,000 compared to $36,000 for the national average for families with children. Furthermore, 98% of the home schooled children are married coupled families. Additionally, 77% of the mothers did not work outside of the home. The participants of this study were predominately Caucasian (94%) and mostly from conservative Christian backgrounds. The study also showed that home schooled children watch less television on the average than their public and private school counter parts. Another notable fact was that almost one out of every four home schooled students has at least one parent who was a certified teacher (Rudner 1999, 12).

One of the possible limitations of this study is that the students that participated in this study all used the Bob Jones University standardized testing program. Because of this it is likely that the demographics do not show the diversity of home schoolers. Also the study is limited in that it does not encompass all of the ideological reasons for home schooling. Nevertheless, the study does examine the thrust of the modern home school movement.

Although the results of many of the latest studies prove to be very favorable for home schoolers, authors warn not to read too much into the results. The results do not prove that home schooling will necessarily produce better students. Rudner states, "The study simply shows that home schooling works for those who make the commitment." (HSLDA Media Releases, 1999, 2).

Jacobs agreed that home schooling has not worked in every situation in Whiteside County. She also cautioned that national results are great for recognition. However, some home school kids have learning disabilities. If a student who scores very low on tests one year, then retests at a higher score later that year but is still below average, is that a success or a failure? What is important is progress.

Progress is one area in which Sauk Valley Christian Home Educators are not lacking. They currently have thirty families actively involved in their group. Current local home school graduates are attending local community colleges and universities throughout the nation. Jacobs claims that these students are majoring in math, engineering, music and other academic areas. In fact, one girl is currently enrolled in law school.

After almost twenty years of existence, the modern home school movement is long overdue in its recognition of legitimacy. Results speak for themselves. Home schoolers have the attention of educators and governmental policy makers. On September 16, 1999 the United States Senate, by unanimous consent, officially passed Senate Resolution 183, designating the week of September 19-25, 1999, as "National Home Education Week." (Farris 1999, 1). The resolution applauds home schoolers' efforts and success in education. It further notes that home schoolers excel in college with the average grade point average of home schoolers exceeding the national average. Finally the resolution states, "... home educators and home instructed students should be recognized and celebrated for their efforts to improve the quality of education." (Farris 1999, 3).

Education cannot, nor will it ever be, the panacea for societal problems. Education has and probably will always be only a part of the answer for a better society. Nevertheless, the value of education must not be underestimated for its contribution to society and to the betterment of the individual. Home schooling will continue to be a valuable facet of the larger educational system. As shown throughout this paper the home schooling movement has proven

itself to be a viable option. It has met the challenges of academic achievement, socialization, and student satisfaction and has grown to the extent where home schoolers now have political power.

Academically home schoolers have, on the average, out-achieved their classroom schooled peers across the board. ACT scores, national-normed tests, and college grades have showed this. The fact that some universities BYU in particular are now seeking home schooled students is another example of academic achievement. As the movement grows, there is little reason to think the academic success will not continue as it has in the past. The growth in numbers will cause more textbook companies to produce better textbooks that are home school friendly. Furthermore, there are now many more parents that can teach others what has worked and what has not been successful in home schooling.

Social adjustment continues to be the biggest concern for educators outside the movement. Yet, home schooled students have shown to meet or excel their peers in study after study. As more home schooled children enter the work force and universities many of the social myths will be dispelled. As Farris stated, there is no imperical data showing that the home schooled environment is missing any of the complex social interactions (The Washington Post 1999, 2).

As these home schooled students enter into universities, they have proven themselves ready to face the challenges before them. As they see and meet the challenges, they have been able to recognize the quality of education that they have received. As shown, these students are overwhelmingly satisfied with their home schooled education.

As with any movement, political and legal power is necessary to maintain the movement. For the public schools this power came from groups such as the NEA. For home schoolers this power came from grassroots lobbyists and activist groups such as the HSLDA. Because of its political power, along with proven achievement, home schooling has grown from being legal in very few states to now being legal in all fifty states.

Hopefully, as educators and concerned parents look at home schooling they see its most valuable contribution to society. That contribution is a demonstration of the strength and success of the traditional family. Rudner and other educational analysts believed that home schoolers' success was more attributable to their family backgrounds than to their educational settings (*The Washington Post* 1999, 1). If this is true, then educators and families should consider the successful model shown. The families that home school are overwhelmingly two parent homes with a stay-at-home mom. These parents are actively involved in the lives of their children. As Rudner stated, "I think the real lesson from this report is that parent involvement really affects education, ... I'm viewing home schooling as the pinnacle of parent involvement." (Archer 1999, 5). Finally, these students come from homes that stress moral and religious training. Not all of the dynamics that make up these home schooled families are politically correct or possible for all of societies' families (i.e. single parent homes). However, they do work well and, based on results, are worthy of consideration.

Will home schooling work for everyone? No, that has not been proven. It is proven that home schooling has worked well for those who are willing to put forth the effort. Home schooling has proven to be a viable option both in Whiteside County and across the nation.

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Historical Perspective of Multicultural Education

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The purpose of this paper is to address the history of multiculturalism in K-12 and teacher education during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The discussion will focus on the information that was available to assist K-12 teachers in addressing multicultural education.

There have been three primary concerns of African-Americans (Af-A); Asian-Americans (As-A); Hispanic-Americans (HA); and Native-Americans (NA). The first concern was having an understanding of ethnic groups' similarities and differences. Second, was a concern regarding how to instruct students from these ethnic groups and third, what was the appropriate curriculum for these four ethnic groups.

After the Civil Rights Movement and integration, the communication and interaction of ethnic groups and the dominant culture changed. More and more college campuses were becoming widely integrated as well as international. During the 1970's, many changes were taking place to foster relationships among the ethnic groups. One example is ethnic studies. Ethnic studies were designed to address all ethnic groups in a collaborative effort. Information regarding Asian Americans was not as forth coming as information regarding Af-A in ethnic studies. Therefore, in the mid-70's, the move for As-A Studies gave impetus to multicultural education. As such, multicultural education has gone from being an idea to a variety of definitions including ways of implementing in the curriculum and teacher education.

Multicultural education has been defined from the perspective of different specific disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology. The different disciplines have developed definitions that encompass their goals. However, can a definition be derived that will encompass all disciplines? In the educational arena, multicultural education has been defined as an instructional strategy in which students' cultural backgrounds are used to develop effective classroom and school environments (Gollnick & Chinn 1998/99). When used effectively in the classroom, teachers can create an environment which supports and extends the concepts of culture, differences, equality, and democracy in the formal educational setting. Nieto (1999) defined multicultural education as a transformation of an individual as well as an institutional level. Baruth and Manning (2000) defined multicultural education as a concept and a deliberate process. As a concept, multicultural education is designed to teach learners to recognize, accept, and appreciate differences in culture, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, religion, ability/disability, and gender. As a process, multicultural education is designed to instill in learners, during their crucial developmental years, a sense of responsibility and a commitment to work toward the democratic ideals of justice, equality, and democracy. The deliberate process requires more overt actions whereby multicultural education becomes a part of a person's daily interactions.

The change in interactions and integration created an avenue for "Black Studies" designed to help Af-A understand and appreciate their heritage. These concepts were addressed in terms of infusing Af-A information into the curriculum, addressing contributions of Af-A to society, and understanding the style of Af-A.

Asian-Americans during the 70's and 1980, had several concerns regarding the academic success of students belonging to this group. One concern was teachers not understanding the different aspects of Asian culture (Nachbar & Timpte 1974). The lack of understanding created the need for infusion of information regarding Asians in content areas (Russell, 1975). Resource materials developed assisted teachers in learning how to use information in the curriculum (Gold & Grant 1977). During this time, the need to have literature in public schools that address Asian-Americans appropriately was evaluated and ideas regarding how to make book selections was significant (MacCann & Woodard 1977; Schmidt & McNeill 1978; Beck 1979). Fostering a pluralistic society begin to be emphasized and bilingual programs, designed for Asian-American children, were assessed in terms of whether these programs considered issues that affected the learning process for these children (Garcia 1978). Another concern was teacher's lack of knowledge regarding how to instruct Asian-American children (Yao 1979; Kitano 1980) which also included the concept of training teachers to instruct with a multicultural focus (Pulu & Pope 1980; Ogawa, D. 1979). A primary concern, which encouraged the move for Asian-American studies, was the lack of information available regarding Asian-Americans in Ethnic Studies courses (National Asian/Pacific American Education Alliance 1980; Mizokawa & Morishima 1979).

Hispanics, during the 70's, held strongly to preserving their heritage and ethnic traditions. Many issues that were affecting Hispanics, from an educational perspective, gave rise to the development of teaching material and methods of instructions. Even though ethnic studies exist, the concern was how Hispanics were being addressed in terms of similarities and differences in the groups that comprised the Latino culture.
Historically, Native Americans have not been successful in American schools. The literature addressed ways to meet the educational needs of Native-American children, teaching strategies that should be used with Native-American children, and teaching that is multicultural (Banks 1979; Tiedt 1979). During the 1970's strong emphasis was put on finding information regarding Native- Americans that could be used in the classroom for instruction. As such, a series of bibliographies were published, as well as ways to integrate teaching about Native-Americans in content areas, and developing curriculum units that address Native-Americans (Bonney 1979).

During the 1980', authors wrote of the needs of different ethnic groups to have their stories infused in the curriculum. There was still concern regarding the accuracy of the information. One example was a study conducted comparing the dominant culture to the African-American culture (Myers 1981). This study found differences impacting communication, understanding, and interactions. Assessments were also conducted in different states regarding how multicultural education was being addressed in the school systems' curriculum (New York State Task Force 1989), in addition to the importance of using dialect to help children learn(Burgess & others 1989).

Literature regarding Asian-Americans began to surface more in the 1980's. The primary focus was improving education for Asians and Pacific Americans. This concern came as a result of studies conducted regarding the bilingual education programs for Asians. The results suggested continual training for teachers of Asians students (Yao 1983), cross cultural curriculums, and the development of curriculum guides designed to help teachers who are instructing about Asians (Ogilvie & Magnusson 1985). Another

means of improving education for Asian Americans is through understanding the different groups that comprise Asian-Americans (Hsu 1982), addressing the model minority myth (Endo & Della-Piana 1981) and more specifically understanding women of Asian descent (Wong 1985). As a result of Asian-Americans needs not being met in the academic arena, the National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education (NAAPAE) was formed. To assist other cultures in understanding Asians, Asian Pacific American Week was celebrated.

Hispanic Americans, in the 1980's, were primarily addressing the fact that schools attended were segregated (Rios 1980). Desegregating Hispanic American students (Noboa 1980) and how to teach Hispanic American children through language acquisition (Hall & Reck 1987) were primary issues. Hispanic American students, during this time, were attending segregated schools, however, these children were being instructed by teachers of the dominant culture who may have had knowledge of the language but did not use the language for instruction. The issue was for these students to acquire English as their primary language and Spanish as their secondary language. Therefore, instruction in these educational arenas consisted of English while the students' language was Spanish. This trend resulted in more referrals to special education (Ortiz & Garcia 1988), violence (Valverde 1983), and needs of these students not being met due to the lack of respect for the culture and the language.

To gain a better understanding of Hispanic students, the System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment (SOMPA) was developed (Figueroa 1982). Since most Hispanic Americans are considered to be devout Catholics, the Catholic Church was shunned for not helping to meet the needs of Hispanics in education and the community. Throughout the 80's, the need to provide information and train teachers for Hispanic children was addressed and in the late 80's, empowering Hispanic students to learn and be successful academically became important.

Prior to the 1980's, there was a paucity of literature regarding Native Americans' educational needs. A primary concern that surfaced was the need for teachers to learn how to teach Native American children (Jaimes 1983). It was not as if Native American children could not learn, but in order for them to learn, teachers must understand the Native American child to know how to instruct them. Ways of helping teachers to understand how to instruct Native American children was to put teachers in the environment (Mahan 1982). Another means of learning was to provide resources in terms of instructional materials (Slapin & Seal 1989). Getting parents involved and linking with the community were means of increasing understanding and educational success (Hewes 1988).

The last decade that will be addressed in this paper is the 1990's. As a result of the 90's, considerable changes have been made and more aggressive approaches have been utilized to address multicultural education. Hispanic Americans issues were addressed in terms of curriculum inclusion, strategies for recruiting HA teachers (Flores & Merino 1991); and analyzing and recommending books for instructing HA students (Wolf 1992). Emphasis was strongly stressed regarding the instruction of HA children through motivation (Fauvel 1991) as well as materials and activities that could be used for instruction (Shepherd 1995). The literature also indicated a need to minimize cultural myopia characteristics and alienation by European American student (Escamilla 1996;

Collins & Hagerman 1999) by giving more attention to the culture through history, literature, and social studies in the curriculum. Even though bilingual programs exist for HA, there is a need to consider what is important in program planning and if concepts such as native language assessments and instruction are not included, then the needs of HA cannot be met adequately (Santiago 1993). One author addressed the race relations in Nebraska specifically for Hispanic and Native Americans. The issues that these groups encounter are racism in the schools, dropout rates, the need for Hispanic and Native American teachers, and a lack of sensitivity (Jenkins 1994). Hispanics are the fastest growing ethnic group in the U.S and their culture must be shared in the classroom to develop an appreciation for their contributions in the past and the present.

During the 90's, literature regarding ethnic groups basically addressed the fact that needs of these ethnic groups in terms of education have not been met adequately for children to be successful. This lack of success has created the need to provide information that should be used in the classroom when instructing to these children and about their culture. The misunderstanding or lack of understanding of Native Americans has given rise to identifying books that reflect a more realistic picture of Native Americans (Dowd 1992). Native Americans must live bi-culturally and an understanding of living biculturally from the perspective of a Native American can help teachers understand what works and does not work in education (Santo 1990). Native American children can be successful in education if native literature and what to teach is included in the curriculum (Harvey 1993). The issues that need to be addressed are educational equity (Vadasy & Maddox 1992), teachers becoming more sensitive in knowing how to instruct and communicate with Native American children (Kasten 1992; Pitton & others 1993), and preparing them for transition into public school during early childhood education (Luellen 1991).

Native Americans history has continually been omitted from U.S. history and opportunities to recount history from persons previously left out of the historical canon (Takaki 1993) would be a start to understanding Native Americans and their need to maintain their culture and traditions. As a result of meeting the needs of native Americans, the state of Oklahoma has devised standards so that educational needs can be met through language instruction, encouraging parental involvement, utilizing a cross cultural curriculum, and recognizing the cultural differences especially with the belief systems. The state of California and Nevada addressed the history and sociocultural evolution to identify the historical and cultural experiences that have contributed to the present conditions of Native Americans.

Since Native Americans historically have been instructed by non-natives, then teachers should know how to select appropriate literature, take responsibility for adequate instruction (Goebel 1996) and become properly trained to avoid inadequacies in teaching about Native Americans (Almeida 1996). If teachers are properly trained, then students will have the opportunity to realize an image of American Indians that is not stereotyped. The realization of this image can be manifested through authentic children's literature on American Indians (McMahon, 1997) and children learning about Americans in the present day and historically. The need is to change the perception of American Indians (Sainte-Marie, 1999), which can be accomplished in the classroom by knowing how to instruct American Indian children (Cajete, 1999).

Asian Americans primary concern in the 90's has been defying the model minority myth and having non-natives understand the ethnic groups that comprise Asians. Several annotated bibliographies have been produced to provide an opportunity to obtain adequate literature addressing Asian Americans to be used in instruction (Duff & Tongchinsub 1990). Resource guides were developed so that teachers could learn how to instruct Asian children (Fu 1995; Pang & Evans 1995), how to communicate with parents (Schwartz 1995) and to help students make connections to Asian Americans by realizing the similarities and differences in their culture.

The latter 90's continued to address the destruction of the myth of Asian Americans because the schools were failing these children (Olsen 1997) by failing to realize that all Asian Americans are not educated well and wealthy. As such, it is important to understand how these children learn to meet their needs in the classroom (Pang & Cheng 1998) as well as understanding the communication skills of Asian American students based on what parents have taught them at home (Cheng 1998). Schools could better serve the Asian population by recognizing the diversity within the Asian community and addressing their needs accordingly (Lee & Childress 1999).

The early 90's found African Americans still not experiencing academic success in the classroom, more specifically males. Researchers believed that a solution for males was African-American Immersion Schools to increase achievement (Holt 1991). Another means of addressing academic success for African-American students was the inclusion of multicultural literature and an Afro centric curriculum (Asante 1991; Harris 1992). Not only was it important to infuse into the curriculum, but it was also important to assess the literature and books used to instruct regarding African-American history and culture (King 1991) Lastly, majority culture teachers lacked training to instruct African-American children. Through teacher education courses and training, these teachers can begin to understand and learn how to incorporate cultural responsive pedagogy to assist African-American in their academic success (Villegas 1991).

Multicultural education as a concept of infusion is not as present in school systems as it could be, thereby creating a need for more training of teachers. If teachers' understanding of the purpose of multicultural education was clear, then ethnic groups could possibly be more successful in the classroom. During the early 90's, African-Americans seem to have been losing support in the classroom (Marable 1992; Banks 1992). Black Studies/African-American Studies begin to lose the mileage gained because programs were being dissolved. Projection of the future for these studies was being discussed, as well as the impact these studies have on the self-concept of African-American students (Asante 1992; Obiakor 1992). The infusion of African-American children's literature in the curriculum continued to be an issue, even though using such material can be most beneficial for children by affirming their culture (Kline 1992; Gayle-Evans 1993).

African-American academic success was still being questioned and as such, researchers begin to study what would help these students be successful in the classroom. Preparing teachers and what they need to know to instruct African-American children was still a concern (Brown 1994). If it was important to see African-American students achieve, then some changes would have to happen. These changes should include multicultural education in the teacher preparation program and institutional changes in

the school systems. The implementation of the aforementioned changes can help African-American students to increase their academic success and development (Hale 1994).

During the mid-90's, literature strongly supported ways to assist African-American students and their success in the classroom. The infusing of culture specific literature was being used as a means of helping African-American students understand their culture. These students were given an opportunity to experience success based on the historical perspective of the educational success as read through the eyes of African-American authors (Glover 1995). To support this idea, two different studies were conducted. One study was designed to increase the opportunities of secondary African-American students to critically read, think, and write about literature that was both diverse in terms of culture and gender (Shipman-Campbell 1995) in addition to helping these students discover their success in school and life by connecting to the literature. Another study was designed to help schools to be culturally inclusive by modifying classroom organization, discourse patterns, or curriculum (Mehan & et al 1995). The implications of this study are if a school's desire is for culturally diverse students to be successful, then several ideas must be considered such as academic rigor, student-centered classroom and discourse organization, student's knowledge as a resource, and the teacher as a researcher.

As a result, strategies for success of African-American students in the classroom were needed (Reglin 1995). A primary strategy that could be utilized was teachers knowing how these students learn, from a cultural perspective, which could assist them in developing attainable instructional goals (Melear 1995). Another strategy, as suggested by Ladson-Billings (1995), was for teachers to be able to identify teaching techniques that were based on culturally relevant pedagogy. Utilizing the identifiable techniques would assist African-American students in having learning experiences to foster success.

The latter 90's, authors begin to report on African-American students in middle school regarding reading achievement, males, the use of literature in social studies, and teaching practices designed to motivate middle school students (Thompson & Mixon 1996; Cox & Webre 1997; Porter 1997; Hudley 1997). The success of African-American students is predicated on two aspects. One way is by building schools and educating youth a way that honors, builds on, and involve all students and citizens. Another way is to make it of utmost importance to prepare teachers who are multicultural and democratic (Irvine 1997). As the 90's end the century, a concern is how the lack of infusing and understanding the purpose of multicultural education continues to be a challenge for meeting the academic needs of African-American students in the classroom. Teachers and counselors must continue to be trained (Evans 1997). If teachers' attitudes regarding racism (Young 1998), their belief and expectation of students (Mahari, 1998), their desire to become culturally responsive teachers (Dilworth 1998), and using culturally appropriate literature to enhance learning would change, then African-American students could achieve academic excellence in the classroom.

This historically perspective of multicultural education has caused this writer to pose the following questions "Is there a need for a Multicultural Curriculum?" "Can all culturally diverse students experience success in the classroom without a multicultural curriculum?" "Who and/or what elements are significant to assist in this process?" It appears as if the need for a multicultural curriculum is still present to assist in the

academic success of culturally diverse students and to create unity in this pluralistic society. According to Williams-Carter (1999), teachers are a key element in the process of incorporating multiculturalism into the curriculum because they can enhance or inhibit the learning process. Since teachers are a key factor, then it is the responsibility of teacher education programs to equip them with the necessary information and make them aware of culturally relevant pedagogy so. teachers can become culturally responsive teachers.

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Paternalism's Reckoning in the Success of the Special Education Movement

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Using criteria such as increases in the numbers of students served, teacher specialists employed, monies spent on programs and services, and/or court cases won, post 1960 special-education reform ought to be judged as successful. The time period marking the beginning of this programmatic success (a success that has continued to the present) has usually been defined as the early to middle 1960s (Chambers, Guarino, and Parrish 1999, Weiser 1984). These are also the same years of intense local activism, political pressure, and federal legislation success of the Civil Rights movement. In the years since, authors have taken the concurrence of the two social/schooling reform movements of Civil Rights and special education as more than mere coincidence. The proposed connections between the two movements have ranged from the Civil Rights movement simply setting the context within which special-education reform occurred (Chambers, Guarino, and Parrish 1999) to special-education supporters using civil rights activist techniques as a model for the implementation of their own program (Weiser 1984). The intense focus on and acceptance of that relationship may be obscuring other factors more critical to the greater success achieved by the special-education movement. That a relationship or connection exists between these two reform movements occurring at the same may be an illusion caused by social forces independent of and outside of either reform movement. Instead the victories of the two groups may be the result of the contextual (social) changes within which both occurred.

That authors, like Jay Chambers, et al., Joseph Watras (1999), and Margaret Weiser, examining the times of the Civil Rights movement have connected these two movements is certainly understandable. The overwhelming attention grabbing aspects of the Civil Rights movement, however, may be so glaringly bright as to hide in its shadows less obvious but just as important influences on the success of special education. Further, by looking too closely for relationships and connections with the Civil Rights movement and by setting the 1960s as the beginning of the special-education movement, we may be missing other phenomena unique to and important for the success of special-education reform. I suggest and will argue that one such alternative influence (or piece of the reform success puzzle) is the ideology of paternalism.

New Paternalism and the Paternalistic Role of the Schools

What is paternalism? In a reportive sense, and as most typically experienced consistent with its historical usage, paternalism is being a parent to an infant unable to care for itself. In its most modern and common usage (as the new paternalism is described in Lawrence Mead's 1998 article titled "Telling the Poor What to Do") it is the act of trying to change another's life across a gulf of capacity.

Paternalism, as social phenomena, has not been universal and unchanging over time. As we moved into the 20th century, the ideology of paternalism becomes more central to and important for our conceptions of the role of government. The ideology of paternalism also generalizes to impact an ever-greater percentage of the population. An historical example of this understanding of paternalism applied to public schooling is in an address given by General C. E. Hovey, the first principal (the title of the position later changing to "president") of Illinois State Normal University, during the quarter Centennial of the University in 1876.

This principle has its foundation in the fact that every child has an absolute right to an education at the hands of somebody, to an extent that shall properly qualify him to discharge his duties as a citizen. Experience shows that when education is left to the voluntary actions of parents and others, it is greatly neglected, and amounts almost to failure. Children come into the world in a helpless condition and remain so for years. They cannot educate themselves anymore than they can provide for themselves food and clothing. Hence, the duty and necessity of government is providing general laws and ample means for their education (Hovey 1882, 184).

Thus, as early as the last quarter of the 19th century, we have set up a dichotomy between the children who are temporarily but fully incompetent, incapable of proving their attainment of education, and the adult authority figures in society or in the schools (an agency of the government) who take the responsibility for caring for those others until long after they are physically capable of providing their own food and clothing. Public schooling, at least in the U.S.A., was the institution formed by the government to exercise its self-defined duties toward those judged unable as of yet to participate in a republican form of government. Paternalism in schools is intertwined with and manifested in the authoritative gulf between the teacher being an authority in some area of knowledge or social skill to that of the novice student. Just as the parent's paternalism was necessary to ensure the infant is provided with the necessities for life, the school and the teachers in the school must provide the children with the necessary knowledge and skills to provide for themselves socially and politically.

New paternalism is characterized by an increasingly parental role adopted by agencies of the government supplementing the paternalistic role of the parent. By the second half of the 20th century, paternalism is clearly established as a role responsibility of socially powerful adults not in direct contact with children and this responsibility has been connected to social morality. This is illustrated in the work of John Chambers, one of the analytic philosophers of education, who talks about how "newborn infants are entirely dependent upon other human beings for consideration of their interests" and how by the age of "18 they are allowed full entitlement of adulthood" (autonomy). "These are the two extremes of a continuum, the remainder of the child's life is therefore presumably somewhere in between" (Chambers 1983, 159). That the school age child has not yet made it to "the full entitlement of adulthood" is one rational for making children attend school. Chambers also talks about teachers "inducting pupils into the world of human meanings" (131), and he also asks,

Who is likely to be the best judge of what is for the children's good? The children? Their young friends? The parents? The teachers? Or who? Teachers may wish to say that the children are sometimes (perhaps often) the best judges of their own good, but they will almost certainly not wish to say that they are always so. Surely the moral principle of benevolence rules that out, because with their limited conceptual and experiential background children often are just not aware of the possibilities and thus are unaware of what we as adults and as teachers see as their real interest. (Chambers 1983, 73)

The following statement from D. R. Bell in The Proper Study published in 1971 provides additional evidence of the meaning change of paternalism:

> The authoritative guidance of a child by a parent is a form of vicarious prudence and is vicarious because, in view of the natural incapacities of the child, first-hand prudence is not possible. Much the same applies in the educational field where the situation is defined by the inequality between those who know and understand on the one hand and on the other those who do not know or understand but (one hopes) wish to (D. R. Bell 1971, 200).

This last statement is very important to the changing meaning of paternalism, for there is no criteria of proof possible that those who do not now understand "human meanings" will ever understand "human meanings," except for hope.

The Social Bridge to the Judiciary

As shown by the Hovey quote, public schooling of the 19th century, and leading to mandatory and universal schooling of the early 20th century, is informed or driven by an understanding of paternalism as a social/public duty and not just a private or familial duty. And while not attempting to infer causality, schools are also the social/governmental institution that will reveal (through rulings involving schools) the judiciary's new paternalistic role. For example, look at how the U.S. Federal Courts have used the belief in appropriateness of paternalism for all students under a certain chronological age (instead of being based on achievement of maturity or autonomous ability) as a central feature of mandatory schooling to inform its decisions. As pointed out in Thomas Eveslages 1992 article titled "The Federal Courts and Educational Policy: Paternalism, Political Correctness and Student Expression" the courts have protected college students expressive rights (people typically over the age of 18) while assigning paternalistic regulatory discretion to control the speech of high school students (typically under the age of 18).

While the conceptions of paternalism just listed establish a continuum of autonomous ability that necessitates paternalism until the age of 18, this upper age limit is arbitrary. As such, this upper chronological end of paternalism is easily eliminated. All that is needed is the idea that the target population of paternalism is presently less than able to take care of itself, but might be better able to do so in some undefined future. Thus the late 20th century understanding of paternalism does not always consider paternalism as inappropriate even when applied to people already of the age of full entitlement. Thus in welfare reform we have perspectives illustrated by Lawrence Mead (1998) in an article titled "Telling the Poor What to Do." The idea of telling (and through various programs perhaps even forcing) the poor (a category often including physically and psychologically competent people) adults what to do to make their lives better is even claimed to be an act of and justified by paternalism. That is, while we are providing some financial support to help them during hard times we can also require them to attend a school providing some form of employment training long after they have passed their eighteenth year.

New Paternalism and the Paternalistic Role of the Courts

During the second half of the 20th century, we can add members of the judiciary to the list of people best able to judge what is good for children. One way to interpret the writings of these authors working in a variety of fields of endeavor is to view their work as evidence of a growing or broadening social role of paternalism. That is to say that a context of paternalism was building that was becoming inescapable or unavoidable either for schools or for the judiciary.

Certain preconditions still exist for people, whether as individuals or as a class, to fall within the purview of paternalism. Two such conditions are the idea that the target population can benefit from paternalistic interference and that a particular individual or institution has a paternalistic role (a responsibility) to play in the lives of the target population. During the last half of the 20th century the judicial system, particularly the federal courts, have constructed and adopted a role for themselves defined by this new idea of paternalism. During this time the

courts have acted as defenders of classes of people in the areas of special education, gender equity (both in schools and the workplace), and school desegregation. While *Brown v. Board of Education* is certainly a landmark decision, it may also be the signifier of a change in the perception by the judiciary of their role in social reform. Namely, a judiciary that is more paternalistic toward classes of citizens needing help in receiving fair and just (or "appropriate") treatment in our society.

New Paternalism in Action

While some special-education advocates may have patterned their own activism after the civil challenges of the Civil Rights movement, and *Brown v. Board of Education* was contextually important to the concept of the rights of identifiable classes or groups of people, even the complexity implicit in a modeling and "coat-tailing" relationship with the Civil Rights movement is insufficient to explain the late 20th century success of special-education. By casting our gaze further back in time and examining special-education efforts, we can see that what was different in the Civil Rights' era was the pace of special-education efforts and not the form or function of the efforts.

A statement made by the 1962 U. S. President's Commission on Mental Retardation advising special-education advocates to avoid legal actions has been used as evidence supporting the proposition that before the Civil Rights movement special-education supporters were nice, polite, and civil in their attempts to forge cooperative partnerships between parents and schools. This advice, however, may not accurately characterize past actions but just be a natural response to when your legal challenges are losing time and again in the courts. Thus, advocates for Civil Rights, as losses mount from many recent school-busing challenges might react the same way some within special-education reform did before the 1960s. Indeed, this is the case. Having experienced the same type of losses in the courts; interested parties in the Civil Rights movement are using the same language used by the 1962 U. S. Presidents Commission on Mental Retardation. As appeared on page 20A in the news section of the July 31, 1999, Saturday, Metro Edition of the Minneapolis Star Tribune, in a school district where a third of the students come from non-English speaking homes and 60% of students qualify for free or reduced price lunches, it is claimed that "it is now time to work cooperatively to solve student achievement problems, and not have to wait the extra years and spend millions of dollars on court costs."

Further, there were court challenges to school policies regarding disabled children before the 1960s. Parents did not wait for others to lead the way, they were already advocating the rights of their children and appealing to the courts for redress of what they believed was the inequitable treatment of their children. While these cases were not making it to the U. S. Supreme Court, the cases were being pursued up the judicial hierarchy to the level of state supreme courts. The courts, however, were always ruling in the school's favor, the parents were losing.

In 1893, for example, with Watson v. City of Cambridge, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruled that schools could expel children for such reason as being "weak in the mind," or for not being able to take "ordinary, decent, physical care of himself."

In another case pursued to the Wisconsin Supreme Court in 1919, the parents of a child who had already attended school for five years fought the expulsion of their child. Consistent with the ruling in Massachusetts, the child was expelled for not being able to take "ordinary, decent, physical care of himself." This child had a speech impediment, uncontrolled facial

contortions, and he drooled. Thus, in the case of Beattie v. Board of Education the court ruled in favor of the school board.

By 1958, however, in the Supreme Court of Illinois case of *Department of Public Welfare v. Haas*, while still finding against the plaintiffs, the court's ruling makes it clear that their findings of no abrogation of the school's paternalistic responsibilities are based only upon a belief in the inability of the disabled child to learn (thus escaping one of the criteria necessary for paternalism). In this case the court believed that "feeble mindedness" and "mental deficit" meant being unable to learn. In other words, when no improvement is possible, there is no paternalistic responsibility. Thus, by the second half of the 20th century, evidence that the "feeble minded" are indeed capable of learning in a formal setting is all that is needed to swing the opinion of the courts in the favor of special-education claimants.

Special-education advocacy groups also followed the same pattern. They certainly were more influential after 1960, they may have even been more active after 1960, they were not, however, a new phenomena. An example of a special-education advocacy group at the local level was the Cuyahoga County Ohio Council for the Retarded Child formed in 1933 (Levine and Wexler 1981). On the national level, there was the Council for Exceptional Children formed in 1922; the United Cerebral Palsy Association, Incorporated founded in 1949; the National Association for Retarded Citizens founded in 1950, the National Society for Autistic Children founded in 1961; the National Association for Down Syndrome also founded in 1961; and the Association for Children with Learning Disabilities founded in 1964 (Yell 1998). Except for the last in the group, all were founded before the Southern Christian Leadership Council sponsored and organized the march on Washington, D.C. for civil rights.

Instead of the claim of imitation of the Civil Rights movement as an explanation for increased special-education court challenges during and after the 1960s, the history of activism and court challenges before 1960 suggests the explanation is the idea that "success breeds success." It is not that there was a change in the form of the actions of special education reformers as much as it was just an increase in the degree of activism spurred on by the hope of winning in an increasingly paternalistic judicial system.

If we allow that a more socially involved court is also a more paternalistic court, then any divergence in the success rate amongst the three equity rights areas favoring special education may be explained by how well the stereotypical special education child fits with the ideology of new paternalism. Earlier I stated that there were two conditions required for the application of new paternalism. The courts are provided these conditions by a defining of an "ideal" of the special education child (which can be used to represent the "class" of disabled children) and claims that state institutions (which include public schools) were failing in their responsibilities toward such children. Examples of the two conditions are made during testimony given during congressional hearings of 1973 and 1974 on educational services for children with disabilities (Publication L. No. 100-259).

From statement of Dr. Oliver L. Hurley, Associate Professor of Special Education, University of Georgia, Athens (p. 657) we have an example of changing perceptions in the idea of possibility for "disabled" children:

> Some years ago, during the course of a visit to the State Institution for the mentally retarded, I encountered a little girl who was lying in a crib. Wondering why she was so confined while the other children were not, I began to play with her. I found that even though I could make eye contact with her, she was unable to follow me with her eyes for more than about 12 inches. I began to try to teach her. In about 15 minutes she could

> follow me about a quarter of the way around the bed. I was convinced then, and still am, that with a little work their child could have been taught some useful behavior and could have been gotten out of the crib. It seems safe to say that no one with any authority was concerned about the education of that little girl.

For me, this child, who showed some ability to learn, typified our reactions to difficult cases: hide them away, exclude them, forget them. Such prejudicial attitude toward those who are different must be changed.

This is an example of an assumption necessary for the implementation of a paternalistic relationship. The target, this time a child, must be able to move toward some greater degree of autonomy resultant from the care provided. The institution (State Institution for the Mentally Retarded) given the paternalistic role for a child who could benefit from responsible care giving had failed in their paternalistic responsibilities. The obvious biological limitations of this child are important for they indicate that even such a child could progress with teaching and training but, who without guidance and teaching would not progress. Further, if the present institutions were failing in their paternalistic roles, then others must take on a paternalistic role toward the institution to get them to carry out their duties or to give that duty to another institution capable of carrying it out.

From the statement of Mrs. Mary Ellen Ward, Avon Park, Florida, Member of the Ridge Area Association for Retarded Children and the Florida and National Associations for Retarded Children (p. 812-813) the language used speaks to just how ideal "disabled" children are for paternalism. The language also indicates the popular understanding of "appropriate" education as applied to disabled children:

> I'd like to describe a particular case, and this is of a multihandicapped girl now 10 years old, severely crippled by cerebral palsy, mentally retarded, and with very limited speech. She was enrolled in our Association-sponsored Division of Retardation funded developmental training program at the age of 4, when she was beginning to roll and crawl on the floor. Before she moved to another county last July (at the age of 10) she had learned to walk with crutches and braces, to feed herself; she'd been toilet trained and was learning to swim and to perform some self-care chores.

The testimony from PL 94-142 provides evidence of the almost perfect fit between paternalism and the newly defined capability increases possible with the population of children now identified and labeled as a class and the already existing paternalistic institution of the public school. As PL 94-142 is described in the Congressional Record:

> Free appropriate public education means special education and related services which shall be provided at public expense, under public supervision and direction and without charge, and meeting the standards of the State educational agency, which shall include an appropriate preschool, elementary, or secondary school education in applicable State and which is provided in conformance with an individualized planning conference required by this Act. (Congressional Record June 18, 1975, 19507)

That appropriate education is different than the educational experience of all others is further supported by how the word appropriate is defined when applied to judicial power. Increased judicial power implicit in the act does not have to be feared because it will be softened. "We soften that some by leaving the word shall but adding the words when appropriate, after providing notice and an opportunity for hearings" (1975, 19499). If the senators were consistently using the word appropriate, then an appropriate education is a softened education.

In other words, an appropriate education is an education with a lesser standard of outcome. Further, the act defines this "class" of children needing paternalistic protection very broadly:

Handicapped children means mentally retarded, hard-of-hearing, deaf, speech impaired, visually handicapped, seriously emotionally disturbed, orthopedically impaired, or other health-impaired children, or children with specific learning disabilities who by reason thereof required special education and related services (Congressional Record June 18, 1975, 19478).

All the testimony and debate is consistent with the two conditions for the new paternalism role of the late 20th judiciary. The talk is always of unrealized potential and of state institutions not meeting their responsibilities in the maximizing of that potential. What is different from the talk about school desegregation and gender equity is the absence of talk of equal outcomes.

This waste of human potential is indeed sad, and all of us should remember that delay in taking action to meet the needs of handicapped children has far reaching implications for the futures of these children and their families (Randolph 1975, 19482).

Here again we have talk of undefined or unspecified potential. What is important is achieving the possible gains and not meeting any particular standard of autonomy. It is also important to note that unlike school desegregation, the family spoken of here is not the future spouse or children of the special education child. Instead, it is the parents of the special education child whose futures are being considered here. There is in the language consistent signs of considerations of realizable gains and unobtainable standards: "Continuous training is vitally necessary, particularly if children are to be mainstreamed into the classroom. Teachers must receive training that not only provides technical assistance necessary to teach handicapped children, but also deals with the potential problem of attitudinal barriers" (Randolph 1975, 19483).

An additional benefit that will result from these conferences is one that is too often overlooked. Not only will the child be better served, and the parents better informed of the limitations their child has due to a particular handicap, but the teacher will learn from this experience as well (Randolph 1975, 19483).

As we look more and more toward children with handicaps being educated with their 'normal' peers, we must realize, and try to alleviate, the burden put upon the teacher who must cope with that child and all the others in the class as well (Randolph 1975, 19483).

The talk is always of limitations and burdens. The only potential achievements spoken of in concrete terms are those of the parents (learning the limitations of their child) and the teacher (who will be better able to cope with the special education child). Lastly, from Robert Stafford, Edward Kennedy, William Hathaway, Richard Schweiker, J. K. Javits speaking on the need to include preschool in the act, "The Committee heard testimony which indicated strongly that special educational services provided to handicapped children before 'normal' school age were often the most beneficial, since much more could be done at an earlier age to ameliorate, alter, or develop skills to compensate for, certain handicapping conditions. The earlier such conditions can be diagnosed, in the long run, the less costly the special educational services the child will need during his or her school years" (1975, 19484).

Conclusion

The meaning of paternalism has broadened far beyond just the relations of parent to child. The state, through public schooling and other institutions, has an accepted a paternalistic role toward not only its citizens' children but also toward certain defined classes of its citizens

both before and after the age of majority. In the late 20th century, in part because of a new understanding of schools not meeting their paternalistic obligations and an increasingly generalized application of paternalism to macro social concerns, the judicial system joined the public school system in the exercise of paternalistic responsibilities. Any reform aimed at schools and using the courts as the avenue of reform will have to account for the impact of the paternalistic ideology. And those reforms that fit with paternalism are more likely to be successful than those reform plans whose goals are only partially consistent with the ideology of paternalism. As the obvious obstacles to the individual achievement of "normal" individuals are removed, the less likely a judicial system whose actions have been informed by notions of paternalism is to interfere with other social institutions. The more likely a populations' obstacles can only be ameliorated and never defeated, the more likely paternalistic institutions will be to respond to concerns for the betterment of the population.

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Ellsworth Collings: A Re-Introduction

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Ellsworth Collings gained national and international recognition virtually overnight with his 1923 publication of An Experiment With A Project Curriculum. He remained forever linked with his dissertation turned book. This volume reported on the effectiveness of certain progressive principles when employed in rural schools. Collings purportedly conducted experiments leading to the dissertation and book while serving as a Missouri county superintendent of schools. Advocates of progressive education regularly cited Collings's work as evidence that their favored reforms "worked" (Hines 1972, 118-165).

Today, Ellsworth Collings tends to be remembered by educators, if at all, for An Experiment With A Project Curriculum. Although a recent investigation by Michael Knoll (1996) raised substantive doubts regarding some of Collings's methodologies, claims, and results, that study itself, perhaps unintentionally, demonstrated the very significance of An Experiment With A Project Curriculum. Over seventy years after publication, the book was still deemed to be of such stature and significance as to merit a careful, detailed reconsideration.

Any perceived irregularities in Collings's dissertation cannot be understood fully without a consideration of the context of the dissertation process at Teachers College during the early 20th century. Raymond E. Callahan (1962, 187-188), for example, pointed out the recurring triviality of topics for dissertations in educational administration accepted between 1914 and 1930. Somewhat later, in 1938, Marion Ostrander, subsequently to become Kilpatrick's third wife, gained approval of her 100-page dissertation devoid of any reference citations. She merely included a bibliography (Beineke 1998, 258-259). Clearly, what constituted an acceptable dissertation during the period of Collings's study at Teachers College would not consistently fulfill contemporary expectations for dissertations. Nevertheless, Collings, unlike the majority of Teachers College graduates, parlayed his dissertation into a major book with a worldwide readership, a fact noted in a letter from William Heard Kilpatrick (1926) to W. B. Bizzell, president of the University of Oklahoma.

An individual's contributions to a field of study and praxis, however, cannot be understood well based on a single episode or work. A broader consideration of Collings's work in education, especially that conducted after the publication of An Experiment With A Project Curriculum, is merited. Such a task is complicated by the fact that none of Collings's professional or personal papers appear to survive, a conclusion confirmed by one of Knoll's (1996, 218) sources. At the University of Oklahoma, Collings's professional home throughout his thirty-six year academic career, Collings Hall (the education building), a small plaque in it, and a personnel file in the provost's office are the major traces of his existence. Thus, his personnel file and his own publications offer the primary avenues to understanding him better.

Ellsworth Collings lived what surely must have been the early 20th century educator's version of the "American dream," rising from rural schools in the nation's heartland to doctoral study at Teachers College. Born in McDonald County, Missouri, on October 23, 1887, Collings earned both his B.S. in Education and A.M. in Educational Psychology degrees from the University of Missouri. He began his teaching career in a one-room school in his home county during the 1908-1909 academic year. A series of administrative posts in various Missouri schools and districts followed (Collings 1922b). From Collings's humble beginnings in rural Missouri, he ultimately proceeded in 1919 to the then pinnacle of the education profession in the

United States, Teachers College. There, he completed his dissertation under the supervision of William Heard Kilpatrick, who wrote of Collings to the University of Oklahoma President in 1926 indicated as follows: "When he studied here he did much of his work under me and I came to know him very well. I need not recall to you his ability, earnestness, or trustworthiness. These qualities he has, I am sure, made evident in his work in your institution. The point that I would urge is that Professor Collings in my judgment . . . has . . . an almost missionary zeal for service to others in educational work. From this point of view I should expect him to take very great interest in educational work of the state and help to extend the influence of the University." Collings transformed his dissertation into a well-known and widely distributed book.

During the summer of the year before that book's publication, he made a career decision that would influence the remainder of his professional life. Ellsworth Collings (1922a) began a 36-year career in higher education at the University of Oklahoma, his only institutional home, with the ten-word telegram, "Your offer as professor of Education in the University accepted," sent on the evening of June 17, 1922, to President Stratton D. Brooks. Collings likely found the opportunity for an academic appointment in Oklahoma, adjacent to his native Missouri and in his beloved west, a stroke of good fortune. His lifelong interest in the western history resulted in two books (Collings and England 1937; Collings 1964) and two articles addressing Oklahoma topics (Collings 1955-1956; 1964-1965). Nevertheless, the University of Oklahoma surely must have seemed to be somewhat of a scholarly backwater to the new faculty member, fresh from Teachers College and study under William Heard Kilpatrick (1926), who described Collings as "one of the best known men for his age and experience in educational circles."

Collings apparently made a successful transition from Teachers College to the University of Oklahoma. He received tenure effective July 1, 1923 (President 1923). Collings also began teaching summer school during that first summer following his initial appointment at the University and became Director of the Summer School in 1926 (President 1923, Bizzell 1926a). Collings's interest in summer school undoubtedly arose from his own experiences as a teacher and administrator in rural and small schools in Missouri. In addition to the small stipend summer teaching provided, he also had the opportunity to work with teachers and administrators from schools similar to those at which he had worked. Collings continued to teach during summer sessions throughout his years on the faculty at the University of Oklahoma (Letters of Appointment).

In 1926, Ellsworth Collings also assumed another, more significant leadership position at the University of Oklahoma. On September 23, 1926, the Board of Regents appointed him Dean of the School of Education, effective retroactive to September 1, 1926 (Bizzell 1926b). Collings held that position until his resignation, effective October 1, 1945. During his tenure as dean, the School of Education grew into the College of Education and the difficulties of the Great Depression passed only to be replaced by the challenges of World War II. Upon his resignation as dean, Collings was appointed Dean Emeritus and Professor of School Supervision (Cates 1945).

Ellsworth Collings retired from the University of Oklahoma at the conclusion of the spring 1958 semester. University President George L. Cross (1958) wrote to him: "The file you have been accumulating in this office since you joined the faculty in 1922, while it only suggests an outline of your career, is an impressive one. Your splendid record of achievement as teacher and as administrator is an enviable one, especially in its indication of fine relations with your students and colleagues." Collings resided during his remaining years on his ranch near Davis in southern Oklahoma and died on June 18, 1970 (Death Claims Dr. Collings 1970).

The legacy of Ellsworth Collings is not limited to his lengthy tenure as dean and professor of a flagship state university. He published at least six books on education with major companies, one chapter in a National Society for the Study of Education yearbook, and twenty-two articles on education subsequent to his 1923 An Experiment With A Project Curriculum. Michael Knoll (1996, 217) observed, "they contained little that was new and were, in fact, merely variations of the theses and themes that he had treated in his dissertation." This assertion is inarguable.

Collings's articles primarily addressed project teaching as a means of improving education for all students. This should not be surprising. The editors of the Nebraska Educational Journal noted in an introduction to one of his articles, "Dr. Ellsworth Collings . . . has probably done more actual work with the project method as advocated by Dr. Kilpatrick of Columbia University, than any other educator in the field" (Collings 1932b, 20). Clearly, his career was highly dependent on the project method and his study under Kilpatrick. Likely, he viewed one of his responsibilities as a former student of Kilpatrick to be the further dissemination and implementation of his mentor's ideas. Collings advocated use of the project method to the widest audience possible. His articles appeared in such well-known journals as Progressive Education, School Executives Magazine, Journal of Educational Sociology, and Clearing House as well as more humble publications including Oklahoma Teacher and Oklahoma Parent-Teacher that were more likely to come into the hands of classroom teachers. Collings (1930a, 1930b) also addressed the need for improved supervision in rural schools as a means of spreading the progressive teaching reforms he advocated. One way he fulfilled his public relations responsibilities as dean was through a series of articles for alumni and friends of the University of Oklahoma in Sooner Magazine (Collings 1929, 1931a, 1938) and a Curriculum Journal article (Collings 1936) describing the academic strengths of the progressive University High School. Collings did reiterate his major positions throughout his articles. Perhaps Knoll's (1996, 217) speculation that "his real interest was no longer education" is correct. Unfortunately, Knoll offered that possibility without evidence. An alternative explanation might very well lie in his goal of seeing education improved through the project and activity curriculum, both probably ideas more frequently discussed than methods actually used with students in schools. Throughout Collings's articles, a steadfast faith in the engagement of students in purposeful activities, a belief in the dignity children possess and the respect they should be accorded, and a hope that schools could be improved for all students remain visibly strong. These themes also are present in the books he authored, the apparent sources of which may be his most important, yet overlooked, legacy.

Ellsworth Collings published at least six books on education following An Experiment With A Project Curriculum. Knoll (1996, 217) dismissed these later works as irrelevant and claimed, again without documentation, "[Collings] himself accorded them little importance..." Yet, perhaps the purpose of these books was not to introduce new ideas but to carry existing ideas to broader audiences. Four of Collings's books published between 1927 and 1934 offered his interpretation of child-centered progressivism to specific groups of educators. Taken as a whole, these works appear to be more of a marketing ploy than an attempt to offer new ideas. Collings segmented his audience into school leaders (Collings 1927, 1934), elementary teachers (Collings 1928a), and secondary teachers (Collings 1931b), offering specialized books for educators with these particular interests. His more broadly oriented Psychology for Teachers: Purposive Behavior, the Foundation of Learning presented a generalized rationale for the specific activities and methods also suggested in the same volume (Collings and Wilson 1930).

Two excerpts from this volume supposedly of "little importance," "Planning Basic to Purposive Behavior" and "Studies of Children's Activities," were included in Caswell's and Campbell's (1937, 360-362, 403-409) classic and well-regarded Readings in Curriculum Development.

Collings revisited his McDonald County, Missouri, experiences, first given national prominence in An Experiment With A Project Curriculum, in his 1932 The Community in the Making: An Experiment in Community Organization. The latter volume focused less on formal schooling than did the former. Instead, he considered the community as a whole. As Collings (1932a, 5) wrote:

> This study embodies an effort to use the ideas implied in the concepts of modern education in mobilizing the forces of a rural community in an important endeavor. A rural worker interested in such an enterprise might quite normally inquire: (i) What should be its purpose? (ii) What is its most successful procedure? (iii) What outcomes might accrue from such an effort? Bob attempts to answer such inquiries from his friend Tom, in the study that follows.

This book perhaps best illustrates Collings's repackaging of his previous work for new audiences. The hardships of the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression impacted many of Oklahoma's rural agricultural communities with a special fury. Some of these communities, in fact, did not survive. The ideas suggested by Collings in The Community in the Making offered some citizens, unlikely to read An Experiment With A Project Curriculum or any other book on education, at least a glimmer of hope for improving their lives despite the situations in which they found themselves.

The books on education written by Ellsworth Collings differed from most of those published by his mentor William Heard Kilpatrick, as well as many of the other, better-known authors on progressive education, in one significant way. Collings explained explicitly how to implement in the classroom the progressive ideas he advocated. He discussed methods of curriculum development, classroom instruction, and student evaluation. He also offered specific examples of how some teachers had engaged their own students in a variety of projects. Collings's (1928a, 166-221) treatment of the "excursion project" was typical. After defining the purpose of such a project as "to find out something - to explore, to investigate, to discover" (166), he offered general guidelines concerning the development and selection of topics suitable for study. Collings then listed 255 specific possibilities for excursion projects generated by one teacher (170-177). He offered specific guidance in the selection of school and outside resources for use in excursion projects and suggestions about teacher leadership to maximize student learning during such projects. For classroom teachers, overworked, underpaid, and with little time to translate the general and often theoretical prose of Dewey, Kilpatrick, and others into practical plans for their students, Collings's books might very well have offered more value. Collings took his version of child-centered progressive education from the halls of Teachers College to the classrooms of Oklahoma.

The genesis of Collings's books on supervision and elementary and secondary teaching can be found in four lesser-known publications from the years of 1925 to 1928. Although he appears never to have classified these works as "books" in his University of Oklahoma records, libraries today collect and catalog them as books. Each of these volumes, Creative Supervision: Parts I, II, and III (Collings 1925), A Conduct Scale for the Measurement of Teaching (Collings 1926), Project Teaching in Secondary Schools (Collings 1928b), and A Syllabus in Project Teaching (Secondary Schools) (Collings 1928c) shares several characteristics with each of the others. All consist of duplicated typewritten pages bound in paper covers by Edwards Brothers

Publishers of Ann Arbor, Michigan. They are materials assertedly derived from practice and used by Collings in teaching his own classes at the University of Oklahoma. He wrote in the introduction to Creative Supervision: Parts I, II, and III that the ideas he presented there had been "experimentally tested over a period of years in the University Training School, University of Oklahoma . . ." (Collings 1925, iv). A Syllabus in Project Teaching (Secondary Schools) likewise included "problems that have grown up in actual attempts to enable teachers to practice project teaching in high schools" (Collings 1928c). Collings's (1925, v) intent for these works transcended their use in his university courses for academic credit: "This volume in addition to stimulating the growth of teachers, supervisors, principals, and superintendents on the job, will find ready use in stimulating discussion in college, normal school, and reading circle classes. I have found it invaluable in stimulating discussion in my own classes." These four publications ultimately grew into Collings's later books on education. They also provide rare insights into some of the topics addressed and examples used in his classes.

Ellsworth Collings remains forever associated with An Experiment With A Project Curriculum, an influential work regardless of its possibly problematic basis. Upon completion of his graduate studies at Teachers College, Collings embarked on a career of relative obscurity at a state-supported university in the middle of the country. Nevertheless, he continued addressing educational topics in writing. While none of his subsequent books or articles attained the prominence of An Experiment With A Project Curriculum, they demonstrated his continued commitment to spreading the ideas of his mentor, William Heard Kilpatrick. Application rather than the development of theory constituted the basis of his career following his study at Teachers College.

Ellsworth Collings's most significant legacy, however, may emerge from his Edwards Brothers booklets of course materials. These seemingly inconsequential documents offer new insights into schooling and the preparation of early to mid-20th century public school teachers and administrators. They illustrate the ways in which theoretical suggestions from the halls of Teachers College and other institutions far from central Oklahoma were translated into what likely were more practical forms for a different population of students would be intriguing. His early works very well could improve contemporary understanding of Kilpatrick and others on the Teachers College faculty under whom Collings studied.

Individuals such as Ellsworth Collings merit further study. Although not prominent like their mentors, they were vital links in the spread of significant educational ideas across the country from a relatively few elite institutions to virtually innumerable classroom teachers and local school administrators. Their role in this process remains unrecognized and poorly understood.

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Islamic History of Education in Uzbekistan

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Uzbekistan is the enigma of central Asia. It was one of the few Soviet republics that did not want independence and was in the latter group to declare itself so in August 1991. Since that time it has made great strides in shaping its unique national identity, which includes a move from communism to capitalism. This move is being made, however, with minimal help from the West. After refusing to complete an Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility for the International Monetary Fund (the Uzbeki government was afraid it was too damaging to the social safety net), Uzbekistan was blacklisted in 1996. This started a domino effect that saw World Bank assistance drastically cut, Asian Development Bank hesitancy and Japan emerging as the largest bilateral partner. The West is mystified byUzbekistan's"capitalism on our terms" attitude–and that is why a better understanding of pre-Soviet Uzbekistan is needed, particularly its Islamic history. Many of the ideas, attitudes and values current Uzbeks hold stem from this pre-Soviet era, and while they are not opposed to many of the theoretical tenets of capitalism, they are incompatible with the western version of it. The observations of Medlin, Cave and Carpenter in 1971 still hold true today:

> Western industrial culture, probably with few if any exceptions, represents systems that are in their contemporary forms, largely irrational to the developing societies (at least to large segments of those societies). We can identify three main reasons for this situation:
> 1. difficulty in readily assimilating highly technical culture
> 2. traditional elites oppose, as they do in most Middle East countries, the social ethics which industrial investments imply
> 3. massive transfers of western personnel, who could make investments produce, are unassociated with the local social system and are politically unacceptable (4).

Understanding how those ideas, attitudes and values were inculcated through pre-Soviet era education–and how they are using education to stage a comeback–is critical for better understanding current Uzbeki development efforts and for better advocating for Uzbekistan on an international level.

This paper will begin with, and largely focus on, the early history of Uzbeki education and the influence of Islam. It will be followed by a brief discussion of Soviet education and what it looked like in Uzbekistan, and will conclude with highlighting some of the more interesting developments in Uzbeki higher education, which has seen the most change since independence.

Pre-Soviet Education in Uzbekistan

According to the latest federal country studies of the five central Asian republics (CARs),
Because it has a population that is more than 40 percent of the combined populations of the five Central Asian states of the former Soviet Union, and because it has rich natural resources, many experts believe that Uzbekistan is likely to emerge as the dominant new state in Central Asia. But Uzbekistan's history also has given rise to serious problems: deeply rooted ethnic tensions;

serious economic, political, and environmental challenges; and an uncertain security and foreign policy environment (Curtis 1997, 385 emphasis added).

Uzbekistan, located between the Amu Darya and Syrdariya rivers, has been one of the cradles of world civilization; it has some of the oldest known sedentary populations and was a crossroads on the Silk Road trade routes between China and the West. The first known people were Iranian nomads who arrived in the first millennium BC. They built the cities Bukhoro, Samarqand, Bactrian, Soghdian and Tokharian, and took advantage of the developing trade with China by becoming major trade centers along the Silk Road. The wealth of this area was a constant invasion magnet, and Persia and China were in perpetual conflict over the region. The area was first invaded by Islamic Arabs in the seventh century AD, and Islam quickly spread throughout the region. Under Arab rule the region maintained a great deal of its Iranian character, although the language of government and commerce was Arabic. The area also became one of the great intellectual centers for Islam (Curtis 1997; Medlin, et al 1965). Turkistan (the geo-political precursor of the Uzbekistan Socialist Republic) reached relatively high levels of learning during the 9th - 13th centuries–levels not matched by western Europe until the Renaissance (Medlin, Cave and Carpenter 1971).

After the family, formal education was the most important socializing institution; educational goals, curricula, organization and practices were all dominated by Sunni Islam, which became the glue holding together the ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous population. Schools had a divine authority that was unquestionable, and the authority of thefather was "transferred" to the teacher when a son was delivered to primary school (maktaba) and the father stated "the flesh is yours, the bones are mine" (Medlin, Cave and Carpenter 1971, 28). Pupils had to show the proper deference to the teacher (maktabdar) by sitting on the floor and always facing him. The teacher was allowed to verbally and physically rebuke students for a variety of offenses, including inattentiveness, failing, playing hookey or being unkempt. The teacher could also reward students for good behavior and academic ability. A boy was normally ready for formal education around age five or six - his first lessons were customs and manners, various prayers and catechism; by age ten he could learn about the rewards of the afterlife (heaven and hell). Additionally during this period, which lasted from five to seven years, boys were exposed to the Arabic alphabet, reading (mainly the Qur'an and the "four books"), writing and arithmetic. Students who finished maktaba were those who passed the teacher's examination of religious learning and reading and were deemed competent to perform their duties as a good Muslim. These students were also eligible to attend madrasa.

Boys 12-14 years old and older, who had completed maktaba, could attend madrasa. Its main role was to provide clerical leaders for society, but study was quite expensive and restricted to a relatively small segment of society. Three main subject areas, each of which required three or more years of study, provided the bulk of the madrasa curriculum. First was grammar, language studies and literature, where Arabic and Persian were extensively studied. Second was theology and law, which focused most heavily on Tasfir (Quranic commentaries), Hadith (Muhammad's sayings) and Fikh (sciences of religious laws and customs). The third was philosophy and general (worldly) sciences, which consisted mostly of Aristotlian logic as understood from the writings of Ibn-Sina and Al-Farabi; arithmetic and geometry; history, geography and philosophy; medical practices; and rhetorical and singing skills (Medlin, Cave and Carpenter, 1971).

While many outsiders had–and still have–their doubts about the academic rigor and utility of such a heavily religious system of education, remember that this system is associated

with the mathematic and astronomical studies by Ulgugbek and Fergani, "the learned encyclopaedists Mohammed Farabi, Abu Raikham Biruni, Abu Ali ibi Sina and Mohammed ibi Musa Khoresmi," and poet Alishar Noboi (Chermouxamedov, 1974, 1). In fact, many central Asian scholars of this period traveled throughout the Muslim world, continuing their studies in Mecca, Baghdad, Damascus, Nishapur, Basra and Kufa (Akiner 1996).

By the ninth century, the continuing influx from the trade route brought in the Turks. Originally brought in as slave soldiers, they took advantage of waning Arabic and Persian rule to establish Turkish states, establishing the first one in the tenth century. The Mongol conquest of the 13th century led to a radical demographic change. Because the armies led by Mongols were mostly made up of Turks, they quickly intermingled with the local population making the Iranians a minority. Extensive damage was also inflicted on the wealthy trade states that took generations to repair. Mongol rule lasted until the 16th century, when nomadic Uzbek tribes took advantage of infighting in the Mongol camps and launched a wholesale invasion. By 1510 the Uzbeks had control and began establishing khanates, or states; current clan identity is directlyderived from this organization of tribes into khans. Fighting among the khans, the establishment of ocean trade routes, wars with Persia and Iran and raids by Kazaks and Mongols led to the eventual demise of the Uzbeks (Curtis 1997). Islamic learning and culture survived this turbulent period several ways. First, many of the new rulers who invaded the major cities were converted to Islam. Second, Sufi missionaries worked tirelessly, moving from one community to another among the nomads in the steppes, deserts and mountains, to covert the shamanists to Islam. Third, and closely related to the second point, Islam gradually came to be indigenized in central Asia, "assimilating local traditions and beliefs and adapting to local environmental conditions. Consequently the nature of Islamic beliefs and practices came to differ very considerably from one area to another..." Some of the most tenacious features were the cult of saints and respect for the dead, both of whom protected the living (Akiner 1996, 98).

Czarist and Soviet Period

In the nineteenth century, Russian interest in the area increased for a number of reasons: concern over British interest in the area, anger at Russian citizens being held as slaves, desire to control the trade region and loss of cotton caused by the American Civil War. By 1876 the entire area was either under direct Russian rule or was a Russian protectorate. Aside from increasingcotton production, Russia interfered minimally in indigenous affairs at that time (Curtis 1997; Medlin et al 1965; Medlin, Cave and Carpenter 1971). Many would later contend, during the Soviet era, this was purposefully done to maintain Turkistan as "a backward colony of Czarist Russia. The Russian Czars had no interest in the political, economic andcultural advance of the nations on the outskirts of the empire and in every possible mannerslowed up the development of the productive powers and the national culture of the territory. Education in Turkestan was in a most pitiful state" (Chermouxamedov 1974, 1). Russia officially provided for Muslim clerical institutions, but excluded government support for them, and through taxation reduced endowments on which some institutions operated. As early as 1870 Russian schools enrolling Muslim children were required to teach the native language using the Russian alphabet, but the failure of that program led to the 1906 commission which recommended separate schools for Russians and Muslims (Medlin, et. Al 1965; Medlin, Cave and Carpenter 1971).

Following the Great October Revolution in 1917, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was inaugurated. By 1924 the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic was established, covering

modern-day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan; they were separated in 1929. Soviet policies toward Islam went through several different phases. The first phase was conciliatory, as evidenced by Lenin and Stalin's 1917 document "To all the Toiling Muslims of Russia and the East." This did not last, however, as Islam as a social system quickly came under attack in the class war. The institutional base of Islam was systematically dismantled and replaced with Soviet social, legal and economic institutions; additionally, atheistic propaganda began circulating in the late 1920's. After the outbreak of World War II, the mood abruptly became conciliatory again, probably because a fair amount of European Russian industry was evacuated to central Asia during World War II. Industry, however, was accompanied by non-Uzbeks as the native population was almost exclusively engaged in extensive and intensive cotton production. The accommodating attitude continued through the 1960's as Soviet Muslims became increasingly important for foreign policy objectives; there was also an attitude of letting Islam wither away by itself as many assumed it would in the face of the Soviet Cultural Revolution (Akiner 1996; Curtis 1997).

> Hence, after taking over state power, the working class can and must undertake a cultural revolution, bring millions of people out of spiritual slavery and ignorance and place all the riches of science and culture at their disposal (Uzbek SSR 1970, 6 emphasis added).

The Soviet Union particularly emphasized the "slavery" of women in Islam.

Not surprisingly, the Soviet educational system was central to the Cultural Revolution. "One of the priority tasks of the cultural revolution consisted in eliminating illiteracy and organizing and implementing education and training for the working people" (Azimova 1988, 6).

Lenin regarded the following factors as essential for the success of the cultural revolution: the allocation of maximum sums for the development of primary education, the expansion of the network of schools and other educational centres, the closing of those establishments without which the country can do for the time being, introduction of austerity budgets for various departments and the subsequent channeling of money thus saved into adult education projects, for improving the condition of teachers on whom depends the upbringing of the younger generation (Uzbek SSR 1970, 9-10, emphasis added).

Schools were critical for eradicating illiteracy and training the workforce–and dismantling Islam. As noted above, many people condemned czarist Russia for allowing the Muslim schools to continue as an effort to keep central Asians ignorant and malleable. The maktabas and madrassas were described as "purely religious schools which could not give the children even elementary knowledge" (Uzbek SSR 1966, 5) which produced "Uzbek people, for centuries strangulated in darkness and in absence of any rights...avidly craving for knowledge" (Uzbek SSR, 1964, p.12). One particularly harsh criticism stated, "it may be added that the entire life of the peasants [before the revolution] was governed by mediaeval traditions of Islam and the norms of the shariat...the fate of the women was particularly difficult – they were the slaves of religion and the house" (Uzbek SSR 1970, 15). Given the emphasis on the backwardness of Islam and the need to put science at the disposal of the people, it is no surprise that Soviet education promoted - and was dominated by - science and technology for the worker and notions of socialist culture. "Socialist culture is distinct from the culture of the exploiting societies both in ideological content and social purpose. Socialist culture is based on the revolutionary teaching of Marxism, it originates as a culture of the working majority and after the victory of socialism becomes a national culture" (Uzbek SSR 1970, 8-9). As late as the 1980's Soviet "educational reform" was defined by efforts to improve education by explicitly reiterating basic Soviet educational principles. Education should:promote Communist Party

policiescoordinate school work with youth, community and political organizations and with industrial and agricultural enterprisescombine polytechnical labor education, aesthetic education and general education with moral educationequate moral education with Lenin communist ethical systemunite academic and ethical knowledge with socially useful applications (Long 1985).

Assisting schools with the Cultural Revolution were mass media outlets, such as radios, television and newspapers; numerous libraries; and both curricular and extracurricular youth groups, all of which flourished during the Soviet era.

Independence and Uzbeki Education

By the 1980's, resentment over intensive cotton and industry production, grievances over discrimination and ethnic animosities were beginning to boil over (Curtis 1997; Critchlow 1991). Following the attempted coup against Gorbachev in 1991, Uzbekistan declared independence on August 31. In December, a parliament was elected and Islam Karimov, Communist Party Chief turned Democratic Party Chief, was elected president. As president, Karimov enjoys a strong presidency with the power to dissolve legislature; in practice he runs an authoritarian state with a questionable human rights record. For example, in January 1992 at least two students died when police opened fire on a student demonstration protesting food shortages and price increases in the capital, Tashkent (Massey 29 January 1992). From its perch of historical and demographic superiority, Uzbekistan is able move at a very cautious pace towards market reform (Curtis 1997).

Market reforms, and the resultant government policies, have had an adverse impact on Uzbeki education, especially primary and secondary. The educational system is first and foremost severely handicapped by the loss of Soviet subsidies. Education is only compulsory for nine years, having been shortened from eleven. Additionally, compulsory education is not free - there is a modest cost-sharing program in place. The government is trying to change both the structure and the curriculum in education, including the language of instruction. The greatest structural problems are lack of funding and facilities for students - many rural areas are without preschools and over half of the primary and secondary schools operate on double shifts; many of the students attending these schools work with no textbooks, no lunches and no heat. The curriculum is undergoing changes more in line with a market economy, including an increased emphasis on capitalism, business management and individual responsibility. In Uzbekistan there have also been changes in law, history, literature and cultural studies. The shift to instruction in Uzbeki also has been problematic. Russian is still taught in schools and the majority of the curricular and instructional material available is in Russian. Nor is Russian the only non-Uzbeki language with which the government must contend. The Karimov regime, in their anxiety to get Uzbeki language reform underway, even closed Samarqand University for a time because the school taught in Tajik (Curtis 1997; Fagerlind and Kanaev 1998).

Higher education has fared a little better. Vocational education is expanding and the higher education system is moving from a Soviet to a more American structure, including awarding BA, MA and Ph.D. degrees. Additionally, the large Soviet schools are devolving into smaller, more specialized schools. During the Soviet era, Tashkent State University had over 1000 professors and instructors, 12 faculties with nearly 100 chairs and a student enrolment over 10,000 (Uzbek SSR 1970); it has now become eight separate schools. One of those schools is Tashkent State Technical University, which has a revamped Faculty of Business and Management. One of Tashkent State Technical's faculty members recently came to the Center

for Energy Economy here at the University of Oklahoma to conduct research on moving from a state-regulated utility rate to a marginal cost, market-based rate. Among several of the changes in Uzbekistan she described, probably the most surprising for me was the fact that her faculty at Tashkent State Technical taught in English (Saidkhojaeva, personal communication 6 April 2000). For having grown up and been educated in Soviet Uzbekistan, and being an integral part of the shift from communism to capitalism with minimal help from the West, I found Dr. Saidkhojaeva to be extremely competent and knowledgeable. I have a passing knowledge of macroeconomics from work with economics of education, but I learned more about microeconomics and market forces from her than I did the summer I took a microeconomics class.

Additionally, the madrassas, are making a comeback. Bukhara, Mir Arab and other Uzbeki cities have reopened their madrassas, but the schools face an uphill battle. To begin with, the Uzbeki government has not accredited the schools and will not recognize their diplomas or graduates. Furthermore, academicians at state schools are caught between students who want to exercise religious beliefs at school and administrators who want to maintain a separation of church and state. The loss of Soviet subsidies noted above, combined with the 1998 Russian economic crisis and the economic difficulties typically associated with development and modernization, have greatly complicated the religious revival. Finally, many women are worried about how to balance traditional religious beliefs and the professional lives they gained as a result of Soviet policies that moved women into the workforce (Recknagel 23 March 1994).

Discussion

The United States would do well to learn from the policy initiatives of the Soviet Union, not the least of which was ignoring the long history of Islam and Islamic education in the country, except when needed as a target for Soviet propaganda. The denigration of central Asian scholars and the equation of religion with slavery were especially harsh. Given the current situation in the Middle East, and the United States' long-standing support of Israel against Palestine, it should come as no surprise that Uzbekistan–a country which is nearly 90% Sunni Muslim–distrusts us. Although Uzbekistan historically had a great deal of success in converting invading forces to Islam, Russia wound up being a costly exception.

This brings up a second important point, the long history of invasion in central Asia. For centuries there were settled agricultural populations who co-existed, more or less peacefully, with nomadic populations and who welcomed visitors from all along the old Silk Road. But for many centuries there were also numerous invasions by the Turks, the Mongols, the ethnic Uzbeks (who were nomadic) and eventually the Soviet Union. Although the United States and other western nations do not want to make Uzbekistan a political colony, the people of the country are nonetheless aware of the imperialist motives behind "development." One of the reasons they are so on guard against initiatives such as opening economic markets to foreign direct investment is that they have already been overrun once by ethnic Russian technical experts following the relocation of some Soviet industry to Uzbekistan during World War II. Finally, the Soviet Union did make somewhat of an impact during the one hundred plus years of czarist and Soviet rule, and those who do not take exception to the West's attitude towards Muslims do take exception to the West's attitude toward communism.

Conclusion

In order to effectively work with and advocate for Uzbekistan, their autonomy and their history must be recognized and respected. Their desire to develop and modernize in accordance with their deeply rooted and closely held religious beliefs–which they have only been able to exercise freely in the last ten years–must be honored. The West should guard against repeating the heavy-handed mistakes made by the Soviet Union. Finally, we should consider other important aspects of Uzbekistan's pre-Soviet history, such as the influence of the historicallynomadic populations on the familial and clan affinities we see in central Asia today.

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Phya Anuman Rajadhon (1888-1969): On Knowledge and Learning

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From the time that King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910) founded western-style schools in Thailand, Thai educators have paid close attention to innovative ideas from the West. Some educators uncritically embraced western ideas; others refused even to consider them. Phya Anuman Rajadhon, however, was different. He believed that human could be successfully mingled and cultures could be integrated (Anuman Rajadhon 1967). His life and his views on knowledge and learning are good examples of the integration of self with others and of the East with the West. An internationally recognized scholar, Phya Anuman Rajadhon published hundreds of books on a wide range of topics including the Thai language, literature, religion, philosophy, history, and culture. He was the acting president of the Royal Institute established in 1934, and was the recipient of an honorary Doctorate Degree of Letters and an honorary Doctorate Degree in Archaeology. This paper explores Phya Anuman Rajadhon's reflections on knowledge and learning.

Phya Anuman Rajadhon's father, Lee, had a strong influence on his desire to learn. Lee had a good collection of various kinds of books, especially literature and history. He was also very much interested in Thai customs and traditions. At the dinner table, Lee had a habit of narrating stories he had read or experienced and sometimes added comments. Some of these stories were told and retold many times. The passion for reading and telling stories was passed on not only to the children but to the grandchildren as well (Sukumolanun 1989).

Phya Anuman Rajadhon learned to read Thai from his father. Lee told his son to wake up at 5 a.m. to practice reading saying that reading books early in the morning would increase memory and accuracy. "When Father woke me up to read early in the morning, I was pleased to do so even though I was so sleepy. I can't remember [I] got out of bed to read for how many times a week, but I'm sure it was more than once" (Anuman Rajadhon 1967, 238).

Phya Anuman Rajadhon was an untiring seeker of knowledge, but he believed that one should not be in a hurry when learning. Knowledge has to be developed step by step. Rushing tends to lead to failure, or sometimes it can harm that person like "eating hot boiling rice from the middle of the bowl" (Anuman Rajadhon 1967, 133). He retold his one-step-at-a-time approach to one of his acquaintances. What little I know, I learned all by myself. I read a lot and to this very day I have never stopped reading . . . After I had read all the novels I could get my hands on, I ventured into classical literature like Homer's Iliad, Milton's Paradise Lost and Dante's Inferno. Finally, in this hard and long journey of self-education, I started reading books on philosophy, science, medicine, and social sciences. (Juan 1969, 245)

After working for 29 years in the customs office, during which time he achieved a high position and was given a noble name, Phya Anuman Rajadhon was unexpectedly forced to resign from his position in 1933, a short time after the Change of Regime–the change from absolute monarchy rule to democratic country. During the time of his unemployment, Phya Anuman Rajadhon devoted most of his time to reading and writing. He was also a member of the Committee for the Determination of Thai terms in the Royal Institute, one of the numerous voluntary jobs he had held for over ten years (Wan Waithayakon 1970). Phya Anuman Rajadhon was finally appointed to work as the head of the Cultural Division, which was later changed to the Literature Division, from 1934-1937. He later mentioned to his children that,

"Thanks to . . . who laid me out of the Customs Department; otherwise, I would not have a chance to do the job I love" (Sukumolanun 1989, 25).

Phya Anuman Rajadhon was very active and enthusiastic in his new position as could be observed by his family. He was "not as quick-tempered as he used to be when he worked at the Customs Department" (Sukumolanun 1989, 27). He was promoted to the position of assistant to the director-general of the Fine Arts Department in 1938. In 1941 he was invited to work as an academic expert in the Ministry of Prime Minister, and moved back to the Fine Arts Department as the director-general of the department in 1942. In this position, he founded the Journal of Fine Arts, which is still being published. He stayed in the position until his retirement at the age of 60.

Writing Career

In a brief interview with Prapat Triinarong (1972), Phya Anuman Rajadhon told that he began to write because he enjoyed it. He translated a book by Ingersold, and showed it to one of his friends who read and passed it on until it was published. He used writing as an approach to gain more knowledge and to distribute that knowledge to others (Sivaraksa 1988; Sukumolanun 1987a). The first person with whom he wanted to share what he had learned was his father. Like his son, Lee yearned for more knowledge throughout his life, but his major obstacle was language. So Phya Anuman Rajadhon translated what he read and shared it with his father (Sivaraksa 1969). He always said that because he knew very little, he needed to learn more. The more he learned, the more he found out how little he knew. He also realized that his works were not perfect or complete. What he wanted was for the next generation to continue researching from what he had started (Sukumolanun 1989).

Phya Anuman Rajadhon translated and wrote a lot of articles, fables, short stories, and books under the pen name "Sathirakoses," the last name King Vajiravudh (1910-1925) bestowed on him. The works that were both nationally and internationally recognized were over 400 books and articles focused on culture, customs, language, and literature written in Thai and English. He also wrote lesser-known books on religion, the arts, history, anthropology, and archaeology.

Besides writing in various fields by himself, he co-wrote with Pra Saraprasert, one of the rare Thai scholars in Pali, Sanskrit, and Singhala. Using the pen names Satirakoses and Nagapradhipa, they created more than 20 translated versions of literary pieces from South Asia and the Middle East. Phya Anuman Rajadhon would translate the works from English into Thai first, and then Pra Saraprasert would edit and correct them. Their works were well researched and full of footnotes and endnotes for the convenience of readers. . . . those [footnotes or appendices] were what we enjoyed because the approach forced us to research more than the stories [that were translated]. Then we released what we had learned in writing. Moreover, the search for knowledge for our appendices led us to other unexpected knowledge. (Anuman Rajadhon 1978, 75)

His Thoughts on Education and Learning

In addition to sharing his knowledge through his writings, Phya Anuman Rajadhon conveyed it through teaching. In 1935, Chulalongkorn University–the first university founded in Thailand–invited Phya Anuman Rajadhon to be a professor in linguistics and comparative literature, a position he held for 35 years. Later he also gave lectures on other subjects in the Faculties of Education and Political Sciences at the same university. Moreover, he lectured on

comparative religion at Thammasart University and on comparative literature at the College of Education. He was also one of the founders of Silapakorn University–the first national university in fine arts–and became its first director.

Phya Anuman Rajadhon stated in various places that knowledge is to know that you do not know. Knowledge and the learned can be divided into three stages: ru jam (knowing by memorization), ru jing (truly knowing), and ru jang (enlightening) (Anuman Rajadhon 1962). In the first stage, ru jam, knowledge is concrete and simple. It is normal for people who start learning to think that they know. Therefore, they talk a great deal, and there is usually agreement among them since each one of them memorizes from whatever he/she learns. Then knowledge and concepts become more complicated and abstract. People later realize that they do not know. So they keep quiet, and agreement among them decreases. This is the second stage called ru jing. People realize that they do not know; therefore, they truly know. The last stage, the highest level of knowledge, is ru jang–Enlightenment or spiritual truth. People who acquire this kind of knowledge will never be reincarnated again. They reach Nirvana the way Buddha did. Phya Anuman Rajadhon's idea about knowledge, though was based mainly on Buddhist philosophy, reflects such great western's thought as Socrates', especially the second stage of knowledge. For Socrates, an educated person is the one who knows that he/she does not know (Reed and Johnson 2000).

Phya Anuman Rajadhon believed that in searching for knowledge, a person must depend on various sources: experts, texts, research studies, speeches, and addresses (Prajayayothin 1989). One of the methods he relied on and recommended was questioning. "Like Prince Rama who prevailed over the god of the ocean, man's mind must prevail over ignorance by inquisition . . . keep on questioning until one knows, until one triumphs over ignorance" (Anuman Rajadhon 1965b, 175). He stated that a land needed to be ploughed, planted, fertilized, and cultivated. Likewise, the mind must be practiced by learning various kinds of knowledge. He believed that a person had to question, to research, to think, to listen, and to remember. Those who ask questions can provide answers since once knowledge is acquired, one will be able to transfer that knowledge to others, which is considered the ultimate goal of education (Anuman Rajadhon 1989).

The relationship between humans and knowledge is mutual. Knowledge and thoughts are always progressing. But if a human being does not want to know, to see, or to perceive, knowledge will eventually disappear (Anuman Rajadhon 1962). Human thought and knowledge exist because people help preserve them.

Phya Anuman Rajadhon adopted the two main approaches to teaching, dialogues and modeling. His methods were, again, closely connected to Socrates who emphasized the power of the dialogue to uncover the truth (Reed and Johnson 2000). In addition, Phya Anuman Rajadhon's "dialogue" was similar to that of Noddings and Freire (Reed and Johnson). His dialogues were open-ended and they were a search not only for the truth but also for understanding, empathy, or appreciation. He incessantly encouraged his students to question (Ishii 1973). Thinachote (1969) describes Phya Anuman Rajadhon's typical classroom in his later days in her article, "Ajarn Chao Khun and Students" as followed: The method of our learning was to write our questions on pieces of paper. We could write on any kind of paper we had. He didn't mind; what he valued was "the questions" . . . The writing was to save time since he had problems with hearing, so the best way for both the teacher and students was to write out questions. But there seemed to be no impediment between the teacher and his students. He bent his ears towards us waiting for the argument, elaboration, or objection. He would wait patiently

for us to finish although some of our objections were so illogical. Then he would remind us gently to argue with reasons not emotion (230). He always ended his classes with questions in order to encourage students to continue thinking.

The "dialogues" did not just stop in his classrooms but extending to his house also. Every Sunday morning he had an "open house" for students, friends, scholars, or acquaintances–all who were interested in cultures, customs, and languages–to visit, to talk, and to share knowledge. One of the usual visitors for these Sunday meetings recalled the incidents as followed: Our conversations would often continue for a matter of hours, moving pleasantly from subjects to subjects but never losing the quality of critical judgment that Phya Anuman applies to every problem of cultural history and analysis. From time to time he would bob up and disappear into another room, returning with a manuscript on the subject at hand, in Thai or English, that he had prepared perhaps ten years ago, but that was still "not quite ready for publication" . . . (Texter 1987, 149) Klausner (1973) revealed his feeling after some of these academic dialogues, "I inevitably came away from a few hours of discussion with him renewed in confidence and spirit" (50-51).

Another approach Phya Anuman Rajadhon believed was the best method of teaching and raising children was modeling. He believed that one should teach oneself first before he/she teaches others (Anuman Rajadhon 1965a). The dialogue approach he adopted in his teaching was the technique he himself always used in searching for more knowledge. He would question anybody he deemed equipped with the knowledge he sought including his own wife, his maid from the northeastern region, or a folk singer at a monastery in the south (Anuman Rajadhon 1979; Sukumolanun 1987a). For Phya Anuman Rajadhon, "every object, concept or tradition that came to his attention challenged him to explore and to explain" (Wells 1973, 42). During his famous Sundays academic dialogues, he would raise many challenging and provocative questions as a model for his students and followers (Klausner 1973).

Phya Anuman Rajadhon was a firm believer in teaching children to help themselves. There was a big pond in his house where children and adults always went swimming. One day one of his sons fell into the pond. He stood there and watched his toddler sink for a second then emerge and paddle to the bank. His wife accused him of not saving the child. "I saw that there was no need to. Let him help himself. When a puppy fells into the water, it can save its life. Human should be able to do so too," was his solemn reply (Sukumolanun 1987b, 26).

All of Phya Anuman Rajadhon's nine children were well educated. He encouraged and supported them to learn without any gender bias (Sukumolanun 1987a). He paid close attention to their education, and oftentimes visited schools and classrooms without telling them in advance. At home, he was a good model for the love of reading and the care for books. Children had to clean bookcases every weekend; all books that were taken out to read had to be put back in their places (Weichacheewa 1987).

Contributions

Phya Anuman Rajadhon's passion and belief in seeking and sharing knowledge did not stop at the time of his retirement. His Sunday discussions continued; his research in languages and cultures persisted. He also carried on as a part-time lecturer at various universities. Moreover, he still worked as a consultant at the Fine Arts Department until he was 77 years old.

When the Royal Institute was established in 1934, Phya Anuman Rajadhon was elected a fellow in the field of belles lettres. Later he became the acting president until he passed away. In this position, he was responsible for the publication of the Thai Dictionary in 1950, the Thai

Gazetteer in 1964, and the first eight volumes of the Thai Encyclopaedia. He also played a leading role in coining Thai words and thus contributed to the development of the Thai language (Sivaraksa 1990; Wan Waithayakon 1970).

Oftentimes the government asked him to take part in works concerning the Thai language, literature, history, and culture. For instance, he was a member of the National Research Council, the Chairman of the Committee for Historical Accuracy, and a member of the Committee for the Publication of Historical and Archaeological Documents.

Besides the public service, Phya Anuman Rajadhon privately acted as thesis and dissertation supervisor for various foreign scholars from such institutions as Cornell University, Harvard University, University of California at Los Angeles, University of London, Tokyo University, and Bharannasri University, India (Keyes 1973; Klausner 1973; Textor 1987). Foreign scholars were "strongly advised by many scholars, both Thai and western, to call upon Phya Anuman Rajadhon" (Keyes 1973, 31). Furthermore, his care to assist everybody extended to others who were out of academia. In "A Publisher's Recollection," Bowen (1973) recalled her first meeting with him: As he spoke, I forgot some of my alarm, my growing uneasiness of the difference in mode between my own conception of my job in Thailand and the realities to which the conception must adjust . . . (29-30)

In 1968, a number of writers and artists established the Sathirakoses Foundation to raise money to support poor writers and to encourage would-be writers and artists. To this entity, he gave all the benefits that might result from his copyrights. Additionally, the government set up a special library named after him at the National Library Building. He donated all of his books to this library.

Like any Buddhist, Phya Anuman Rajadhon accepted the reality of death. He was only worried that his days would not be long enough for him to finish the works he wanted done (Sukumolanun 1989). He performed his duty as a university professor, as the President of the Siam Society, and as a member of the Royal Institute until the last few days of his life.

Phya Anuman Rajadhon once wrote, " . . . I created enough... when I die, I believe, I will not be extinct . . ." (Anuman Rajadhon 1967, 506). This statement proved to be true. After his decease, the Bangkok Municipality renamed the street where his house is located after his name. Additionally, UNESCO named him "an important person of the world" (Sivaraksa 1988, 219) in the 100-year memoriam for his merit and dedication to the study of culture.

Conclusion

Possessing a genuine perception of his own language, custom, culture, and religion, Phya Anuman Rajadhon progressed into other languages, cultures, religion, and identity. Internationally, he was recognized as a scholar of Thai culture, custom, and language. In Thailand, he was highly praised for knowing widely and internationally. In addition, Phya Anuman Rajadhon overlooked people's differences. "The color of people skins - white, yellow, or black–is superficial. If we take off their skins or simply slice it off a little bit, we will see that the blood inside is equally red. The original nature of man is the same" (Phya Anuman Rajadhon 1967, p. 137). People of different ages, genders, and nationalities were equally welcomed to his Sunday discussions. He treated his wife as an equal being. All his children were similarly loved and supported despite their genders. In his mind, diversity among people exists and does not exist.

His life and reflections on knowledge and learning are good examples of the integration of self with others and of the East and the West. A scholar of mankind and customs, Phya

Anuman Rajadhon successfully integrated ideas and customs across culture, easing the transition between Orient and Occident.

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The Practicality of Foreign Language Learning in World War II

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The teaching of foreign languages has held a tenuous place in the American curriculum for much of the history of public schools. The isolationist tendencies of the United States relegated foreign languages to mere "mental stimulation" for much of early curriculum development. At best, language learning was seen as a means for understanding the culture of a foreign land (Morris 1942). What was not emphasized, however, was the ability to communicate in another language and function in another country. Both the objectives for foreign language learning and the methods by which they were achieved changed during the global engagement of World War II. What did not change was the need for this area of study to be "practical", or useful in everyday life, in order to fulfill the desires and needs of the American citizenry.

Before the years of World War II, foreign languages were only useful to any student who desired to build a career specifically using another language. During the war, however, one sees a shift in perspective around the year 1943 in which foreign languages begin to be perceived as immensely practical in the effort to win the war and build a post-war world. This study will look at the changes in rationale and purpose, as well as the objectives, course content, and methods in the years 1940 to 1947, when the effects of the war entered the foreign language classroom.

Fighting Practicality in Favor of Language Learning (1940–1943)

From 1910 through the 1920s, schools operated with goals of efficiency and practicality based on the ideas of John Franklin Bobbitt, Frank Spaulding and other educational leaders of the day. In a desire to run schools like a finely tuned business, an anti-intellectual climate arose in which cultural studies were defended with great difficulty. Foreign languages fell prey to this sentiment, and many offerings were dropped from the curriculum due to their small class size demands as well as their inefficiency in providing useful skills directly applicable to the American workforce. Even during World War I, the American public did not value the study of foreign languages, and the anti-German sentiment provided even more reason to curtail the teaching of this and other languages (Callahan 1962). The more "practical" classes, such as typewriting, stenography, bookkeeping, elementary law, insurance, household arts, first aid, family budgets, and the like were favored over foreign languages (Hume 1943). This desire for practical and efficient classes marked the foreign language curriculum through the beginning of the Second World War. Even as late as 1943, the teachers of foreign languages in New York City were advised to take up the study of math, shopwork, physics or chemistry, so that they would be able to teach these subjects when languages disappeared as a "frill" in war-time schools (Anderson 1943).

This debate over the usefulness of foreign languages continued in the educational journals during the war. In 1941, Edward Sisson argued in *School and Society* that studying foreign languages did not make a student a more tolerant person. He asserted that, "Europeans speak more languages and look what happened to them" (370). In 1942, Philip S. Blumberg of Central High School in Paterson, New Jersey claimed in the same journal that for ninety percent of high school children, the study of foreign languages was a waste of time. Only those that planned to teach it or have a job directly related to it needed to study another language. These comments echoed a sentiment across the nation that foreign language study was considered an

educational frill that should be sacrificed for the more practical pursuits during the critical wartime years.

There were voices of reason that argued for the continuation of foreign language study in language journals such as *Hispania*, and the *Modern Language Journal*. Nicholas Murray Butler, the President of Columbia University, stated that, "there is no more disturbing or reactionary influence at work among the schools and colleges of the U. S. than that which questions the wisdom of the study of any foreign language...This is intellectual isolationism of the most extreme type and can lead only to an ignorance that would be as dismal as profound"(1942, 210). Other contributors assented and claimed that foreign language teachers had an important contribution to make in the war effort. M. C. Morris boldly asserted in the *Modern Language Journal* that language instruction could, "broaden a student's whole view of the world around him by combating prejudice, mental insularity, provincialism, and exaggerated local pride while fostering a respect for others. These open-minded students will lead the post-war world that will render repetition of the holocaust impossible" (1942, 410). While these arguments were persuasive, they were outweighed by the immediate and practical concerns of winning the war and safeguarding democracy.

Defending German and French –A Plea for Tolerance

Due to the continued isolationist stance of the United States in regard to language learning, defending the study of the German language was a controversial idea at the beginning of the war years. While the anti-German sentiment of World War I destroyed many German language programs, enrollment during the early World War II years remained stable (Koester 1942). A prominent and early defender of the study of German was the great writer and thinker Thomas Mann. He supported the efforts of the American Association of Teachers of German in "seeking friends to oppose both tendencies: the curtailment of the study of foreign languages in general, and in particular the growing resistance to occupation with the German language and literature" (1941, 96). Other defenders argued that we could not do to German culture what the Nazis succeeded in doing to other people and ideas not in harmony with their ideology. Seen in this light, eliminating the study of the German language and culture in our schools would be tantamount to educational genocide (Vowles 1941). Some even argued that we should understand the language of our enemy in order to understand what they are "up to" in war and in peacetime (Koester 1942). This argument of understanding the enemy in order to win the war and have understanding of the peacetime world defines the rationale that emerged after 1943. The study of German and other languages became practical, and therefore, important in the war effort.

In terms of enrollment, the study of French suffered the most of all languages during the Second World War. While the German tongue had to be defended as an "enemy language", French speakers had to maintain legitimacy as a conquered nation. Statistics showed that as a result of the fall of France to German military occupation in 1940, there was a severe drop in enrollment in French across the nation. One contributor to *School and Society*, R. Towne, suggested that some students thought that the "military collapse of France has injected some sort of base alloy into the language itself" (580). Many French teachers were told that they were teaching a dead civilization and a dead language (Mann, A. 1942). The French educational journal, *French Review*, came to the defense of the study of French with many articles in 1941 and 1942 proclaiming the necessity of this important international language. These arguments failed to stop the dropping enrollment and other actions that undermined the study of French.

Spanish–Surviving and Thriving due to the Practicality of Pan-Americanism
The teaching of Spanish did not suffer the same deleterious wartime effects as German and French, primarily because the nation realized early that relations with Latin American countries were important in business relations as well as in building a democratic post-war world. Spanish teachers did not have to argue for the survival of their language as Americans seized upon the possibilities created by rapid transportation to and from Latin America and the financial opportunities therein. Latin America became a "hot topic" which fueled growing interest in the study of Spanish and the culture of the countries to the south. Student organizations, such as the Student League of the Americas in New York City, the Pan American Student Forum of the Southwest, and the Pan American League of Miami, organized and grew in stature. In many schools, more students enrolled in Spanish than in any other foreign language. This produced teacher shortages and a boom in Spanish textbooks (Croghan 1942).

Foreign Languages as Practical in the War Effort (1943-1945)
Due to the practical nature of inter-American cooperation and business opportunities, the Spanish language thrived in the early war years when other languages did not. The situation changed radically for all languages in 1943 when the War Department approved the Army Specialist Training Program, a program to rapidly teach foreign languages to soldiers before sending them to the battlefield. After Pearl Harbor, the armed services needed linguists competent in French, Spanish, Italian, German, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese. They found few men who possessed these needed competencies, so they set up their own methods and hired instructors to produce linguists. The emphasis was on speaking the language, and learning to do so with great speed. This intense study produced quick results (Zeydel 1943). President Roosevelt also began communicating in other languages, and his wife, Eleanor, made a public statement promoting the mastery of languages in order to understand the people of foreign lands. She specifically cited Spanish as an important language as the American continent became engaged in mutual defense (Roosevelt 1943).

These incidents began a complete reversal of opinion in regard to the practicality of foreign languages. Suddenly, learning a language was not only beneficial to world understanding, but also necessary in order to win the war. In language journals in 1943, mottoes began appearing at the end of articles that supported this call to action. Slogans such as "foreign languages for the air age," "Americans, awake to language needs," and "now is the time for all good men to study a second language" were printed over and over again in the *Modern Language Journal*, *Hispania*, and other relevant periodicals.

Americans also realized how shortsighted the policy of linguistic isolation had been. In November 1943 in the *Modern Language Journal*, G. H. Danton stated that, "the war caught us short in many things, but in none more completely than in languages" (510). In that same year, E. Cross characterized Americans as, "helpless, speechless, and beaten in the linguistic field" (278). The American public seized upon these hints of defeat and demanded redress in the schools. Statistics began to appear in the media comparing American schoolchildren's performance in languages compared with the achievement of other countries. While Americans were debating the practicality and efficiency of offering any foreign languages in the curriculum, 24 nations in the Western world offered foreign languages for six years or more in the school curriculum (Girard 1944).

The Study of German and French Redeemed

Ironically, during the war years the study of German in American schools was not as adversely affected as the study of French. There was not much of a drop in enrollment, and no stigma was attached to its study (Mapes 1943). The study of German also benefited, along with the other modern languages, from the recognition of its practicality in 1943. However, this new sentiment of the utility and necessity of foreign languages served to legitimize and revive the study of French. In 1944, a teacher explained her hesitancy to title a spring exhibition "The France We're Fighting For" in light of the critical attitude towards France. She was much relieved to know that the students approved the name and understood that every item in the exhibit represented universal human values (Johnson 1944). The French language and culture had survived conquest in Europe and disdain in the United States.

A Change to More Practical Objectives in the Foreign Language Classroom

As the rationale for foreign languages changed to practical usage in the wartime world in the year 1943, the objectives and the methods by which these goals were achieved changed as well. With the introduction of the Army Specialist Training Program and the success accorded this groundbreaking teaching effort, the public and classroom teachers began to see the possibilities of mastering a foreign language in the classroom. Leon Mones claimed in *Clearing House* that, "we in public schools have been afraid to declare that we can teach a modern language for mastery." This fear was soon replaced with enthusiasm and faith in the new objectives of not only reading, but also writing, understanding, and speaking a foreign tongue.

Mones suggested that language learning be broken into five steps, just as the process of learning a trade is broken down by a job analysis. Once again the spirit of efficiency and practicality provided answers to curricular dilemmas. The five steps delineated by Mones were: learning foreign words in their keenest and sharpest meaning; developing drills for immediate availability of these words; developing a familiarity and mastery over the foreign sentence structure, word order, idiom, and general pattern of expression; developing a freedom from block, obstacle and stage fright toward the foreign language; and, finally, developing a skill, resourcefulness, and readiness of verbalizing experiences in the foreign tongue (1943, 426 - 427). Armed with such straightforward and easily implemented guidelines, language teachers could share this enthusiasm for the new objective of total mastery of a language.

A Change to a Practical Syllabus

Just as the foreign language curriculum began to shift to include not only the reading of another language, but also mastery of writing, understanding, and speaking, so did the syllabi of these classes change to include more "practical" matters such as military terminology. Scholars rushed to compile vocabulary lists of the most frequently used military terms in Spanish, German, and French. These lists included military vocabulary as well as terms that deal with radio, airplanes, air raids, and first aid. These lists were used in translation exercises, aural comprehension activities, compositions, pronunciation drills, and as conversational material (Jackson 1942). Some classes even used military materials to enhance learning. One French class reported the receipt of a bulletin written in French by a French general that was dropped in the French colonies in North Africa asking the natives not to resist the British and American troops. The class translated the pamphlet with great interest. Other classes translated the President's broadcasts to the French colonies in Africa from English to French. Even Latin classes tried to incorporate such practical elements into the curriculum. Many Latin teachers

encouraged their classes to compare the ancient military strategies, tactics, and equipment of Caesar with current military operations (Land 1944).

A Change in Teaching Methods–The Army Specialist Teaching Program Method

In order to meet the pre-war objective of only learning to read another language, preservice teachers learned the direct method of teaching. This method of instruction involved memorization, drill, and repetitious grammar exercises, with little practice in speaking or understanding the spoken word. This method conformed nicely to the purpose of "mental exercise," but it did not allow the student to progress into actual use of the foreign language. As the objectives and course content of all language instruction changed in the middle war years, so did the ways to achieve these new goals. The new objectives of fluency in all skill areas required an expansion of the skills learned and practiced in the classroom. The Army Specialist Training Program offered a model from which to construct these methods, as well as confidence that they would be successful. S. E. Leavitt enthusiastically explained in *Hispania* that, "the language program inaugurated for the Army demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt that the U.S., up to then considered impervious to foreign languages, could really learn to speak something besides slang, baseball, and Brooklynese" (1946, 15).

The ASTP method involved speaking the language from the first day of class. Repeating words and phrases provided by the teacher was followed by manipulation and experimentation with the language in conversation. Grammar was not explicitly taught, but it could be used to explain and clarify the correct usage. The emphasis was on fluency in self-expression, even at the cost of absolute accuracy (Johnson 1944). This method of teaching, while revolutionary, had some very definite and expensive needs. Teachers were required to be completely fluent as well as trained in this teaching method. Smaller classes were also needed for personal attention for each student. The recommended amount was twenty or fewer students in order to have sufficient daily practice in speaking and pronunciation. The expensive, new technology of the linguaphone, commonly called the language laboratory, was also required for the ASTP classroom. By 1945, these labs were present in most universities, but they were still too expensive for most high schools (Girard 1944). Articles appeared in the various educational journals extolling the ASTP method, but there was little evidence of its use in American schools until after the war had ended.

Adapting the ASTP Method the Classroom

There were suggestions in educational journals of how to change this method to accommodate the realities of the classroom. In 1943, E.K. Mapes recommended in the *Modern Language Journal* that students read aloud in their own rooms at least a half-hour each day as part of their regular preparation for class. He promised smooth and correct pronunciation in an "unbelievably short time", which would be a tremendous advantage to the draftee. Mapes also suggested obtaining a radio, finding a Cuban or Mexican station, and challenging the students to follow the announcements and feature broadcasts. University radio broadcasts of first and second year language courses were another option as a supplement to regular class work. In 1944, B.Q. Morgan proposed in the *California Journal of Secondary Education* that the choral technique was acceptable as a substitute for individual pronunciation practice. He warned that the teacher and the student should not talk at the same time so that the class could carefully listen to the teacher, and the teacher could listen for pronunciation errors. Morgan also suggested this

method be done as group work with five or six students and a leader. The teacher would then be free to circulate and supervise.

There were many mentions in the educational journals of using linguist-informants, or native speakers, in the classroom to provide authentic speech and practice in understanding and communication. Only American citizens could be classroom teachers at this time, but guest appearances by these linguistic "experts" was recommended to add to the students' educational experience (Nicholson 1944). Many contributors suggested incorporating available technology in the classroom. The linguaphone was an unreasonable expectation for the average foreign language classroom, but there were other options such as the radio, films, and records (Kurz 1943). Many of these materials were not new, but there was a renewed interest in their potential as aids in meeting the goals of fluency in a foreign language.

Reactions to the ASTP Method in American Schools

Many different modifications of the recommended ASTP program were implemented after 1943 as teachers attempted to comply with the new mandate of proficiency in a spoken language. Some teachers wrote of their problems and frustrations with the current demands placed on them in that time of crisis. In January 1945, Nellie E. Sanchez and S. M. Stroke elaborated in the *Harvard Educational Review* that the number of teachers actually using the new teaching aids was quite low. They asserted that, "some of the more obvious teaching aids are less useful than they might at first appear to be (23)." They cited radio broadcasts as frequently aired at inconvenient times when listening is impossible. Schools often had no recording devices for their subsequent repetition. Sanchez and Stroke added that the lectures in other languages were generally too rapid in delivery and contained advanced vocabulary that would be lost on all but the very best students.

Other teachers doubted the validity of the entire ASTP program and its objectives. This new program cast doubt on the competence and abilities of many foreign language teachers who had relied for years on the direct method and its goal of reading competency. Some were wary of "jumping on the bandwagon" of such a drastic reform, while others were simply cautious in waiting for the realities of the foreign language curriculum after the crisis of war had passed (Cross 1947). As with other educational reforms, many teachers chose to simply add elements of this program to their classroom as they deemed appropriate, and eschewed the rest. A. Zech pleaded the teachers' case in the *Modern Language Journal*. He implored that the public and curriculum supervisors not attempt to force one method on all teachers. He questioned the evidence of ASTP success in the classroom, the rate of retention of the language, and the practicality of fitting an intensive class into a high school schedule. Without proof that these basic problems may be solved in classrooms across America, he demanded that teachers not be held to these unproven methods (1945). Whether or not the public heeded Zech's demand, teachers continued to use the new ASTP methods in conjunction with older techniques. In October 1945, surveys were mailed to 100 teachers of foreign languages. Fifty-eight of these surveys were answered. It was determined that the average high school teacher was, on the whole, not in favor of an exclusively oral/aural teaching method as espoused by the ASTP. The teachers were also against discarding the cultural aims and aspects of foreign language teaching (Oellrich 1945).

Conclusion

Foreign language teachers benefited from the sudden interest and concern for foreign languages that occurred around the year 1943, when the United States government finally realized the need for linguistic competency in an international war. The legitimacy that these teachers had been fighting for in the face of practical needs was earned through this conflict. Learning foreign languages moved from the realm of "cultural stimulation" to a practical skill needed immediately in the effort to bring the war to a close. New courses and methods were developed that would ensure that American students obtained the rapid proficiency in foreign languages needed in this time of international engagement.

The method of teaching and learning that developed directly from wartime needs, the Army Specialist Training Program, held great promise as a classroom technique for foreign language teachers. While exact implementation was unfeasible, many modifications were designed and implemented in American schools. This method added a revolutionary and useful tool to the repertoire of foreign language teachers. While many did not embrace this program wholeheartedly or try to achieve every goal within, the effects of these new ideas would echo in foreign language classrooms for years to come.

The old argument of practical needs reemerged in 1945 when educators attempted to outline the post-war curriculum. The opposition to the continued inclusion of foreign languages in the curriculum was greatest among those who were planning the reform of secondary education, and foreign languages again began to be characterized as an, "old authoritarian, disciplinary education that is not progressive" (Kandel 1945, 326). In December 1945, *The Harvard Report* was published by General Education in a Free Society, under the supervision of Dean Buck. In this report, foreign languages were not mentioned as core subjects. Recommendations included 3 units of English, science, and math, and 2 units of social studies. The improvement of one's English was cited as the aim of foreign language learning. There was no mention of the goal of understanding other cultures or the idea of linguistic competency in an increasingly international world. It was also mentioned that only a "comparative few" who could profit by it should pursue the study of a second language ("Comments on the Harvard Report" 1945). Isolationism had reared its ugly head in American schools even before the war had ended. Foreign language teachers were forced to fight once again for legitimacy and a place in the curriculum in the face of more practical needs.

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The School Reorganization Act of 1961 and Its Impact on Pennsylvania School Reform

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The battle for school reform in Pennsylvania in the 1960's spanned the decade. Initially school reform was addressed by Act 561 of the Legislature. This paper documents the controversy which accompanied Act 561 and the political battles which finally brought its repeal.

In a speech to a regional group of school directors in May of 1962, Deputy Superintendent of the Department of Public Instruction (DPI) Ralph Swan sketched the history of the implementation of school reorganization in Pennsylvania (Swan 1962,1-3). In a plea for Act 561, the newest attempt at school district reorganization, to be appreciated and accepted, Swan pointed out,

> There has not been a year since 1947 in which studies have not been under way or proposals under consideration to improve our administrative structure. ...and so I remind you of the slow and deliberate process by which we have arrived at this point in administering a reorganization act. I also remind you that Act 561 adheres to the process and procedures by which Pennsylvanians have worked with reorganization since 1947. (Swan 1962, 3-4)

Deputy Superintendent Swan was clearly feeling the need to advocate the controversial bill, which had narrowly passed the state legislature. Not only had it been contested before it passed but it continued to be a source of controversy. In a letter to gubernatorial candidate William Scranton (who was currently serving in the U.S. House of Representatives) Martin Brackbill, Research Director for the Republican State Committee warned, "This could easily become one of the hottest issues of the campaign, both now and later on."

Perspectives on School Reorganization

The School Reorganization Bill, Act 561, was Pennsylvania's attempt to implement a school reform, which was sweeping much of the nation. An editorial in a Harrisburg daily, The Patriot, said,

> In the past 20 years the number of school districts in the nation has been reduced from 108,579 to 35,082. Pennsylvania is far behind in this parade of educational progress. We have 2,189 districts, which the new law would reduce to 350. ... Our first need is to make sure that the local school districts are of sufficient size to do their jobs. That may cause resentments in some places, but we cannot afford to sacrifice the future of our children to appease the isolationist spirit of a few fortunately-situated districts.

While this school reform had many different dimensions, reducing the number of districts and increasing the number of students in any given district were central components.

One of the most used texts on school administration reflected what seemed to be the current orthodoxy on school size and organization noting that, "The number of small, unified districts in many states is further illustration of the need for improved district organization (Campbell, Cunningham, and McPhee)." In addition they agreed with the American Association of School Administrators Commission on School District Reorganization which said that unifying districts was the best hope for America's students because it both guaranteed large enrollments as well as the possibility of expanded resources (Campbell, Cunningham, and McPhee). In the words of Eldon Schafer in a pamphlet discussing reorganization distributed by

the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, "...a few things are certain. There will be fewer and fewer, larger and larger (perhaps better and better), school districts (Schafer, 1)."

James Conant, who had been one of the key educational policy shapers through the 1950's (Spring, 36-51), was insistent that schools reorganize in this manner. In a text titled *Shaping Educational Policy*, Conant noted that Europeans would find it incomprehensible that we had more than 4,000 school boards independently shaping secondary education. He believed it was a given that without sufficiently large student bodies, high schools would have inferior offerings for their students (Conant 1964, 6,7). In his most influential book, *The American High School Today*, Conant titles a section, "Elimination of the Small High School - A Top Priority." Conant pleaded:

> I should like to record at this point my conviction that in many states the number one problem is the elimination of the small high school by district reorganization. Such reorganization has been virtually accomplished by leadership at the state level, legislative action, and subsequent decisions of the electorate in a few states. ...I can sum up my conclusions in a few sentences. The number of small high schools must be drastically reduced through district reorganization (Conant 1959, 38, 40).

Joel Spring noted that Conant's work was highly influential with professional educators because it didn't attack them or seek to undermine their control of public education (Spring, 38). In two follow-up works Conant puts lower limits on school size contending that a high school must have an absolute minimum of 750 students to accomplish reasonable goals (Conant 1967, 2) and 125 per grade in junior high (Conant 1960, 38). While he believed larger schools could offer many more resources to students, especially by providing special courses of study for gifted students, these numbers marked a possible minimum. He preferred 5,000 to 10,000 students in a district.

One study of a consolidated rural school district summarized the benefits contained in Conant's agenda. There were six advantages to schools reorganized into significantly larger units. They were: diverse course offerings; expanded student activities offerings; better instructional programs; class size (both the economic and academic benefit); special services to students; and, intangibles (Rushing 1967). This was also the findings of a study done of schools in 11 Southern states. Researcher Joe L. Jackson stated, "Larger school size is a proper and important objective in order to provide a greater variety and depth of course offerings as well as special services." (Jackson 1963, 4). So compelling was Conant's view, and it was widely held throughout the educational community, that one researcher contended, "reorganization of school districts is an imperative national need." (Jonassen 1965, 3).

Pennsylvania School Reorganization

In Pennsylvania these concerns were given life in Act 561 of the legislature for school reorganization. Act 561 was essentially a planning bill which had these provisions for the establishment of administrative units as explained by Deputy Superintendent Swan:

1. The State Council of Education shall establish standards of reorganization before January, 1962.
2. County boards of school directors shall submit plans to the Department of Public Instruction for their counties by January, 1963. The State Council of Education will review all plans and approve those that seem appropriate.
3. In 1963 county plans which are not acceptable are to be returned to the county boards for further study, consultation, and re-submission.

4. If an acceptable plan is not received by January, 1964, then the DPI shall prepare a plan and submit it to the State Council of Education.
5. The approved administrative units of the county plans shall become school districts on the first Monday of July, 1965.

Opposition to the Bill had been expressed throughout the process. In the William Scranton Special Collection there is an anonymous position paper and a letter from Ellwood P. Varner charging that Act 561 had marked the triumph of urban democrats over rural republicans. While this is a simplistic drawing of lines, it had some truth.

There was a group of urban democrats along with state educational officials who clearly supported the bill. The efforts of Deputy Superintendent Swan were clearly the voice of moral suasion. He called other plans which were being discussed both "unconstitutional and impractical" and then spoke of Act 561's moral superiority because it insured a stand against segregation (Swan, May 19, 1962, 5). The Democratic candidate for Governor, Richardson Dilworth (Mayor of Philadelphia) stated simply, "I fully support Act 561 and believe it must be administered firmly but with understanding.

The bill had been originally developed by the Governor's Committee on Education a group established by Democratic Governor David Lawrence (Challenge of the Sixties, #3, 7). It then took legislative form in Senate and House bills which eventually had to be worked out in a joint committee before Act 561 was proposed. When the bill came up for a vote it passed by a narrow margin with urban democrats being seen as the deciding factor. They were convinced this would give us better schools. The Beaver County Times, citing a report from Columbia University, recorded that the DPI argued in a pamphlet that larger schools would provide better education and that necessitated reorganization (April 9, 1962, 1). In one local statement of this viewpoint, a school district was invited to merge with another because schools were like supermarkets, you must keep them full because the more kids, the lower the cost of instruction (BCT, Sept. 14, 1962, 3).

The Opponents to Act 561

The opposition which had developed was made up of powerful groups. Groups such as The Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, The Pennsylvania State School Directors Asscociation, The Grange and the Republican Party were all opposed to Act 561. Educational consultant Edwin Cruttenden's ominous warning set a tone for the opposition. He claimed Act 561 is one of the most far reaching and controversial laws relating to education that has been passed since the Free School Act of 1834.

In its annual meeting barely a month after the bill was passed, the Pennsylvania State School Directors Association as recorded in their minutes voted in favor of the repeal of Act 561 and enumerated reasons why. In a subsequent meeting the PSSDA's Special Commission on School Reorganization noted: that 17 counties had already voted for its repeal; that 561 ignored the quality of existing districts in favor of quantity concerns; and, that any plan must include local referendums on the plans. They also suggested that four other criteria be considered when judging whether a school district would be reorganized. These criteria would include the quality of program, the ability of the district to finance its program, high teacher salaries, and good physical facilities.

One of the leading spokesman against Act 561 was State Grange Master J. Collins McSparran. McSparran represented the sentiment that Act 561 represented small towns vs big cities (BCT, Feb. 3, 1962, 6). He believed that even the minimum figure of 2,500 students for

sparsely populated districts would be impossible and those districts would lose subsidies form the state (BCT, Apr. 16, 1962, 3). McSparran was convinced that this was such a critical issue that he launched a campaign for the Republican gubernatorial nomination and made a strong showing.

In a Research Bureau Memorandum the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce outlined its opposition. While noting that business generally supports reorganization, because they are concerned with quality education, the allocation of school tax burdens, and the effective use of the tax dollars, they were nonetheless opposed to the mandatory character of Act 561. They summarized the problems for their constituents.

1. The Mandatory Feature–final authority on how school districts are to be reorganized is vested in the State Council of Education. There was no provision for referendum.
2. The size of new districts–they objected to what seemed an arbitrary number of 4,000 students. They believed the DPI wanted districts much bigger than this and thought size constraints were inappropriate.
3. Assets and debts–they thought districts who hadn't incurred long term debt ran the risk of having to unfairly assume an increased tax burden if merged with districts with high debt.
4. School boards–they didn't think there was adequate provision for the composition of newly combined school boards.
5. Subsidies–they believed that the formula for granting several different state subsidies would be disrupted by this system and would hurt districts financially.
6. Teacher tenure and salaries–because of the disparities in these and lack of clear guidelines on how they would be handled these were seen as problems as well.

While these and other issues were raised as objections there seemed to be two fundamental objections that consistently appeared. First, school reorganization meant a loss of home rule. No matter how you packaged it, local people were giving up control. One attorney who had been consulted fumed, "What is needed is not an amendment, but repeal. There should be no compromise with such a barefaced attempt to destroy Home Rule and local control of our school districts (Pendleton)." Second, and closely related, it seemed to the opponents that the "winners" in Act 561 would be the educational bureaucrats who would gain increased power. One editorial warned, "Mergers would centralize power and give the Department of Public Instruction infinitely greater control of the schools (BCT, Oct 5, 1962, 6)."

So wide-spread was the opposition to Act 561 that a suit was filed to have it declared unconstitutional. At the local level one county superintendent said, "If districts get together, fine, we'll bless it' but won't crack the whip to make it happen (BCT, Mar. 16, 1962, 1)."

William Scranton's Perspective

The leading Republican candidate for the gubernatorial nomination was a U.S. Representative, William Scranton. Scranton was caught in the middle. Richardson Dilworth, the Democratic nominee was in favor of Act 561. Since it had been developed by the powerful incumbent Democratic governor, David Lawrence, it would have been politically hard for Dilworth to oppose it. But in addition, Dilworth was mayor of Philadelphia and virtually all urban democrats thought it made perfect sense since they viewed tiny rural school districts as significantly inefficient and a burden to state tax payers and in need of sweeping mergers. On the other side of Scranton was his primary opponent State Grange Master J. Collins McSparran.

McSparran represented rural Pennsylvania and had gathered a lot of support around his opposition to Act 561.

Whether for principle sake or political expediency, Scranton chose a middle position. Much like the State Chamber of Commerce Scranton said he favored school district reorganization but objected to parts of Act 561 (Scranton, Pennsylvania School Journal, 57). In a series of letters (many to school administrators who had written him questions) Scranton laid out his position. However, there are indications he must have been reluctant because Martin Brackbill the research director for the State Republican Party had to prod him in a letter, "You need a concrete stand on reorganization. Those for and against you don't know where you stand." (Brackbill)

In response to the prod his position began to take shape. Initially Scranton was clear that 561 didn't need repealed but could be amended to be useful if the revision restored home rule and prevented the destruction of excellent districts (Scranton/Wagner). He said there also needed to be provisions for merged districts not incurring the debts of individual districts. In particular, he was worried that suburban districts would get saddled with debt from depressed areas (Scranton/Pribonic). He also wrote about the need for flexibility so that local situations could be taken into account especially over the issues which were noted earlier by the State Chamber of Commerce (Scranton/Kellams).

But there seemed real ambiguity on Scranton's part. In two pieces written in October of 1962 Scranton said that the most important part of school reorganization was that most children in smaller poorer districts will have access to better education. Kids in the smallest, poorest districts would now get the same education as the rich suburbs (Scranton, Oct. 10, 1962). And, writing to Elton McFadden he said that the reorganization program must provide equal educational opportunities for every student in Pennsylvania regardless of community or county.

Scranton seemed to affirm both sides. He wanted to protect home rule and seemed to support the objections of the Republicans. Possibly he felt the weight of political pressure such as in a letter he received from prominent attorney Raymond Pitcairn who concluded his four page letter by saying, "I should tell you, Mr. Scranton, that our entire family is very strongly opposed to Act 561 and their contributions will depend largely on your stand for repeal of this Act." (Pitcairn) Whether his support of the equal opportunity that 561 seemed to represent was just campaign rhetoric or whether he gave into pressure from his own party is unclear. However, in a letter to educator Roy Rose from the same town as Pitcairn, Scranton said if a bill passed the legislature to repeal Act 561, he would sign it.

Conclusion

Scranton was elected governor and Act 561 was repealed. It was replaced by Act 299 of 1963 which changed the bill as the Republicans wanted. A Supplemental Bill with further provisions was passed in 1968. Most prominent in the new bill was the return of decision making to the local areas. While counties still developed their own plans as in 561, the state had less power to over rule them. Only in very restricted circumstances could the state step in. It had been the state's desire to reduce the number of districts to 350. By 1970 they reduced them to 669 nearly twice what had been intended in 561 but still a drastic reduction from 2,189.

However, the troubling aspect of the failed state reform was that there was no longer a strong state mandate that could overcome the potential of local politics enacting problematic plans. The virtual absence of any discussion of desegregation in these discussions when battles for desegregation raged nationwide would lead you to believe larger agendas for reform were co-

opted by local control. Whether for good or evil, the death of Act 561 in Pennsylvania meant that school reform would be pressed down to at least the county level.

Act 561 failed. It never produced the kind of support state-wide it needed to accomplish significant school reorganization. Without support from the governor and with powerful groups clearly opposed, Act 561 proved too controversial to guide school reform in Pennsylvania.

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Reconsidering Paul Hanna's Content Sequencing Theory

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How should the content of social studies be ordered? The ordering relationship among content elements has been considered by many educators to significantly affect learning. Educational psychologists think of a content sequence as a determinant of how easily or how many content elements are learned (Mayer 1975). Several studies conducted in the social studies area suggest that sequence has positive effects on both students' historical comprehension (McKeown 1991, 1992), and their knowledge and attitude on the other countries and people (Mitsako 1978; Skeel 1980). Research on the hidden curriculum has shown that content sequence influences cognitive structure, and cognitive or affective orientations (Rudinsky and Posner 1976).

However, recent reviews of research in the social studies area reveal the paucity of definitive studies on how content should be sequenced (Joyce, Little, and Wronsky 1991; Ehman and Hahn 1981). Most research or theoretical arguments relying on the developmental perspective failed to provide a useful source of prescriptions for scope and sequence in social studies education (Shaver 1979). Another approach, based on either the Delphi technique or survey data on experts' opinion (see Herman 1980, 1983; Watts 1987, 1989) showed the difficulty in attaining a full consensus on the scope and sequence due to the differences of views and interests among groups. Given this situation, as Posner and Strike (1976) suggested, "we need first to ask the prior descriptive question before we are able to know how content should be ordered." Such questions as "What principles can be used to sequence content?" and "What principles have been used?" would be topics of descriptive research on sequencing principles.

From this perspective, the study of the historical change of sequencing principles reflected in American elementary social studies curricula provides important knowledge about what principles have been used. Historical knowledge of sequencing principles also presents insights about what principles should be used in the future. On the other hand, the lack of historical studies confines the range of discussion about scope and sequence.

In the social studies area, there have been few interpretations of curricular changes in elementary social studies. To summarize those interpretations, the expanding environmental framework has dominated the U.S. elementary social studies curricula and it has not been replaced for several practical reasons (Project SPAN Staff and Consultant 1982; Peet 1984). Also, the focus is concentrated on criticism against the traditional organizational framework (Akenson 1987; LeRiche 1987), rather than on specific and objective analyses based on empirically reliable criteria. This seemingly oversimplified interpretation of history results in the narrowness of our discussion on scope and sequence.

The purpose of this study is to challenge the simplified interpretation of history and to reconsider historical data from a different perspective. This study will analyze extensive sequencing principles reflected in historical elementary social studies curricula using a well-articulated categorical scheme for the content sequence; the analysis will focus on various levels of content elements. Because most previous discussion has been centered around the expanding environmental framework, this study will focus on Paul Hanna's curricular work which can be considered as an exemplar of the framework.

Simplified Interpretations of the History of Scope and Sequence

Previous studies on the history of scope and sequence in social studies can be organized into two categories. The first focuses on the transition of organizational frameworks from the early 20th century to the recent years. Most of the discussion in these categories notes that the expanding environmental framework has dominated American elementary social studies curricular since the early 20th century, and second, there has been little change in the pattern of curriculum organization (Project SPAN Staff and Consultant 1982; Peet 1984; Akenson 1987; LeRiche 1987, Joyce little, and Wronsky 1991; Allen 1994). For example, Peet (1984) reports the constant domination of the expanding horizontal approach in elementary social studies curricula from 1916 to 1980s.

The second category of discussion focuses on the origins of the expanding horizon theory and its ideological implications. There have been diversified views on the origins of the expanding horizontal approach (see LeRiche 1974, 1987, 1989; Akenson 1987, 1989; Egan 1980, 1986; Ravitch 1985, 1987); each perspective presents its own explanation about ideological or philosophical assumptions influence on the emergence of the organization framework. For example, Ravitch (1989) nominates Hanna's recommendation (1934) on the Virginia Curriculum Plan as the first use of the expanding environments and criticizes his recommendation as "tot sociology" which treats social problems from children's perspectives.

Several criticisms can be leveled against the studies noted above. First, the objects of analyses in the above studies do not represent all content elements. Their analyses mainly focus on the ordering relationships among grade level topics. However, each topic in each grade, such as family, neighbor, or community is not subject matter but a mere nomination of subject matter. Various facts and concepts of social sciences and related skills are traditionally organized under the name of home, school, or community. It means that any kind of subject matter or content element can be taught under these names.

Second, these studies assume that there is only one activating principle in a curriculum. However, as mentioned above, because various kinds of content elements are used under the name of home or community, various kinds of ordering principles can be used in a single curriculum. For example, according to Brophy's analysis (1992) of the most widely adopted elementary curriculum, in a single curricular framework, the expanding environment (from 'here and now' to 'there and then'), the spiral curricular approach (complexity or depth of concept), and the gradual differentiation approach (from brief and global ways to more detailed and elaborated and differentiated ones) are used simultaneously. We need to see an organizational framework as a group of sequencing principles, rather than a single principle.

Third, the sequencing principles analyzed in these studies were not based on articulated analytic frameworks. For example, Egan (1986) lists four principles as underlying principles of the expanding environmental framework; "from known to unknown," " from familiar to strange," "from specific to abstract," and "from simple to complex." However, he does not specify which relations among content elements are the examples of these principles. Furthermore, other studies do not include any reference to what kind of analytical tools were used when identifying an organizational principle in a specific curriculum.

Fourth, researchers overlooked the possibility that various principles could be used in different curriculum series. In a similar context, LeRiche(1987) points out that the topics of the expanding environmental framework are broad enough to contain substantial changes of subject matter. Therefore, in addition to the analyses of a topical pattern on the macro level, we need to give attention to the sequencing principles which group various kinds of content elements in

differing levels. By focusing not only on titles but also on various levels of content elements, we can overview the changes in sequencing principles.

Categorical Scheme for Sequencing Principles

For the analysis of sequencing principles reflected in historical curriculum series, we need first a replicable analytical framework. The categorization of sequencing principles suggested by Posner and Strike (1976) can be useful for an articulated analysis.

Posner and Strike (1976) think that debates about criteria for sequencing have typically evolved into a subject matter-versus-learner dichotomy. That is, "Should the sequencing be based on the subject matter or on the learner?" They refine this question and put forward three aspects of subject matter, namely, phenomena in the world, knowledge about the phenomena (i.e., concepts), and the process by which such knowledge is produced (i.e., inquiry). They also identify two learner-centered aspects, which are learning outcomes and the utilization of learning outcomes in pursuit of life goals. These five bases for sequencing principles develop into a categorizational framework (see Posner and Strike 1974):

1. World-related: The curriculum structure reflects empirical relationships between events, people, and things. Examples of this type are the chronological or geographical ordering of events and places, typically found in social studies curriculum. World-related sub-types include spatial relationships, temporal relationships, physical attributes, and function.

2. Concept-related: The curriculum is structured in the way that concepts relate to one another. The subtypes include class relations, propositional relationships, level of sophistication, and logical prerequisites.

3. Inquiry-related: These principles originate from the nature of the process of discovering or verifying knowledge. Such relationships reflect the nature of the logic or methodology of a given area of thought. There are two subtypes, which are logic of inquiry and empirics of inquiry.

4. Learning theory-related: These principles are based on the research output of learning psychology and the technology of teaching. The subtypes include the empirical prerequisite relationship, degree of familiarity, degree of difficulty, degree of interest, development, and degree of internalization.

5. Utilization-related. This category reflects the procedural order in which the learning outcomes are to be used or the order of importance in utilizations. The principles are usually derived from 'life activity analysis' or 'job analysis' or the way pupils utilize the content after learning. The subtypes include procedure and anticipated frequency of utilization.

These categories of sequencing principles provide a set of concepts which frame optimal relationships among content elements. Also, it serves as a reference for curriculum developers and make it possible to describe both the extensiveness of structure and the kinds of structuring principles employed in a particular program.

The sequencing principles presented above in Brophy's studies (1992) can be further articulated by Posner and Strike's categorizational framework. Brophy explains the sequencing

principles of the expanding environments model as the principle of from "here and now" to "there and then." The principles of "from here to there" and "from now to then" correspond to the principles of 'space' and 'time' in the world-related category; the 'complexity and depth' principles correspond to the principle of 'sophistication' in the concept-related category. Also, the 'gradual differentiation approach' or 'major concept approach' also could be put into the sub-type of 'sophistication' or 'logical prerequisites' principle in the concept-related category.

The four underlying principles listed by Egan (1986) can be also articulated using this scheme: the degree of familiarity for "from familiar to strange"; the degree of abstraction for "from concrete to abstract"; and the degree of complexity for "from simple to complex." However, Egan's concept of "from known to unknown" can be interpreted as one of following principles: familiarity, empirical prerequisites, or difficulty.

As seen above, this categorical scheme provides us with more specified concepts of the relationships among content elements. Using this framework, we can get more details of the curriculum organization used in history.

Paul Hanna's Theory of Content Sequence

It is impossible to discuss the content sequence of elementary social studies without including a discussion of Paul R. Hanna. As mentioned above, his theory of content sequence or the expanding environmental framework, has been known as the most influential and dominant theory in the elementary social studies curriculum. His influence on the elementary social studies curriculum has been sustained throughout the century. The expanding environmental framework has been dominant not only in the United States but also in other countries including Canada, Australia, Japan, and South Korea.

Hanna participated in the development of several leading elementary social studies textbook series from the mid-1930's into the 1970's (see Gill, 1974). Because Hanna is both the designer and the advocate of the expanding environment theory, we can see how the framework is specified and interpreted in practice, through the examination of his textbooks. Also, we can see how the expanding environmental framework integrated rapid changes of curriculum theories in those eras.

Before examining the textbook series, we need first to identify Hanna's basic model of sequence theory. Hanna's theory of the social studies curriculum can be summarized into two concepts. One of them is the "Basic Human Activities," which is the scope of a curriculum. The other concept is the "Expanding Communities of Men," which is the sequence of a curriculum. Around these two axes, the content of a curriculum is organized into an ordered and logical structure. Nine categories of basic human activities are taught at every grade, differing in complexity according to the enlargement of settings. A child starts to study transportation, communication and recreation in both the family and school community. As the child grows, he or she learns about these social functions in enlarging communities. According to Hanna (1987, 11), "the world of a child obviously represents the widening horizons which he experiences as he grows up."

This dominant curriculum framework, however, is not free from changing themes and priorities in the social studies area. According to the report developed by Project SPAN (1982), there have been changes within this framework. Concepts from social sciences have been influenced by the New Social Studies Movement; global perspectives or comparative studies have been influenced by the Global Education Movement. The changes in content can be assumed to

bring about changes in sequencing principles on the micro level. The following analysis will prove the assumption that there have been variations of sequencing principles along with the shifting priority of content elements.

The Analysis of Content Sequence Principle Reflected in Textbook Series, *Curriculum Materials: Two Textbook Series*

In June of 1934, Hanna arrived in Chicago for a meeting with the head personnel of Scott, Foresman and Company (Gill, 1976). He presented his idea and conception of social studies as a tool for strengthening both society and the child. The next year, Hanna contracted with the company to produce a new social studies textbook series. In 1936, "Peter's family", the initial book of the Hanna Series, was published. By 1965, Hanna's social studies textbook series recorded sales of 8,270,959.

The concept of 'expanding communities of men' was not completely manifested in Hanna's first textbook series. Although the idea was in his earlier designs, it was not until the early 1950's that Hanna actually formalized the concept. Hanna crystalized his idea in his second textbook series, "Basic Social Studies Program (1965)." As an exemplar of the curriculum representing Hanna's sequencing theory, this textbook series is included in the analyses of this paper. This program included seven books from the first grade to the sixth grade. The features included the following (Hanna et al. 1965): First, this program takes as its vertical structure the family, school, neighborhood, local, county, metropolitan area, state, regional, national, and larger than national community. Second, in the primary grades, the program organizes its contents around students' everyday experiences, which are described with the form of story telling. Third, in each grade, the program tries to show how basic human activities are carried on in various levels of communities.

The 1960s is the period influenced by the New Social Studies Movement. Hanna's textbooks could not be free from the turmoil of the era. The third textbook series, "Investigation of Men's World" was published by Scott, Foresman, and Company in 1970. By analyzing this curriculum, we can see how the tenets of the New Social Studies are integrated into the existing expanding environments.

This program utilizes the expanding communities as a vertical structure: family Studies, Local Studies, and Metropolitan Studies at the primary levels; and Regional Studies, United States Studies, Inter-American Studies, Atlantic Studies, and Pacific Studies at the intermediate levels. In the teacher's edition, the authors provide three features of this program (Hanna et al. 1970). First, this program takes a multi-disciplinary structure, which makes students use concepts from various social sciences disciplines to inquire problems of the world. Second, this program is an inquiry oriented program in which students learn methods of inquiry and gain understanding of basic principles, laws, concepts, and theories. Third, this program is a conceptually-structured program which organizes contents according to the key concepts and generalizations of various social science disciplines.

Procedure of Analysis

Textbook contents are organized at multiple levels. Most elementary social studies textbooks have grade level topics such as family, neighborhood, community. Next, units or parts follow these topics; then subtitles (lessons) come after units. The Basic Social Studies Program includes grade topics, units, and lessons. Investigation of Men's World includes grade level topics,

parts, units, and lessons. This study analyzes sequencing principles at each level.

Posner and Strike (1976) present a method for analyzing content sequence (MACS). The analytical procedure of this study is generally guided by Posner and Strike's recommendations. First, titles of each level are listed. Second, the specific relationships between two consecutive titles are examined from the first. Third, using the categorizational scheme presented above, the types of sequencing principles combining content elements are checked. If an explicit ordering relationship is not identified, no score is given. Fourth, if pairs of content elements are related on more than one basis of subtypes, more explicit relationship is scored. Finally, the number of relationships in each type is counted and reported by content levels.

The Findings, *The Basic Social Studies Program (1965)*

The number of sequencing relationships in the Basic Social Studies Curriculum was counted. The most extensive principle in this program is the principle of "interest" in the learning-related category. Twenty-nine relationships (34.5%) based on this principle were found. The relationships based on the principle of interest are mostly found when interesting episodes and everyday stories are presented before content about basic human activities.

The principles of space and the empirical prerequisite follow the principle of interests in the number of usage: sixteen relationships (19.1%) based on physical attributes and thirteen relationships (10.7%) based on empirical prerequisite were found. Examples of the relationship based on space were found in such relationships as 'from north to south,' or 'from closest to farthest.' The principles of empirical prerequisite were found when they presented an introductory unit before studying other units about a specific topic to facilitate subsequent learning.

The distribution of relationships across content levels provides another interesting perspective. The learning-related principles were mostly assigned on the micro level, while world-related principles were located on the macro level. This finding shows that the Basic Social Studies Program organized subject matter around children's interests under the titles using geographical terms.

If we look at the distribution of sequencing principles across the grade levels, first, the relationships based on interest were most extensive at the primary grades. Second, world-related principles were more extensive when it comes to higher grades. Because that this program used geographical terms more frequently from the fourth grade to the sixth grade.

To summarize, the principle of interest and world related principles are the pivotal principles structuring the Basic Social Studies Program. The principle of interest was most extensive at the primary grades and micro content levels, while the principle of space was extensive at the higher grades and the macro content levels ("Investigation of Men's World" 1970).

First, the distribution of relationships in each category by content levels was investigated. The most extensive principle in this program was the procedure of utilization, followed by the process of inquiry. The extensiveness of the utilization procedure scores 66 (46.5%); the process of inquiry scores 31 (21.8%). In this program, examples of the utilization procedure were found in the case studies for the application of concepts and skills learned in previous units or lessons. The introduction of foreign cases from the early grades is another important feature of this program. The inquiry process is illustrated when contents are organized around questions guiding inquiries. These two principles are found at the lower content levels which are likely to reflect actual learning activities.

Next, empirical prerequisites (17, 12.0%), time (13, 9.2%), and physical attributes (10,

7.0%) were addressed. The principle of empirical prerequisite was mostly used for introducing and facilitating subsequent learning. All relationships based on the principle of time were found in history units. Finally, the principle of physical attributes was mostly found among titles on the macro level topics. When the distribution of relationships is compared between the macro level and the micro level, we find that relationships among macro level contents were much smaller than those among micro level contents. This likely occurred because, in this program, most titles of units and parts represent individual social science disciplines and those titles were not organized vertically.

If we look at the distribution of relationships by grade levels, the findings suggest several interesting perspectives. First, the relationships based on the principle of inquiry were mostly distributed at the lower grades, while the relationships based on the principle of utilization were mostly allocated at the higher grades. The authors emphasized learning at the lower grades, while they emphasized application at the higher grades. Second, the allocation of relationships based on the principle of time at the 5^{th} and 6^{th} grade reflects the fact that, in this program, the extensive study of chronology begins at these grades. Third, the relationships based on the world-related and the concept-related categories were all found at the higher grade levels. When compared with the distribution of learning-related principles at the lower grades, this finding shows that the principles reflecting the logic of subject matter were emphasized at the higher grade level, while the principles reflecting the logic of learners were emphasized at the lower grades.

To summarize, the "Investigation of Men's World" employed the principles of utilization procedure and inquiry processes as its most important relationships binding content elements. The extensiveness of these two principles reflects the influence of the New Social Studies Movement and emphasizes the inquiry and the application of concepts to real problems. The sequencing pattern of this program shows the possible harmony between the expanding environments and social science concepts, and a global perspective.

Discussion

Several important insights in studying sequencing principles must be gleaned from the study. First, a single sequence principle does not represent the whole structure of a curriculum series. We can list multiple sequencing principles in the above programs. Different combinations of sequencing principles produce different characteristics of curriculum structures. The combination of the principle of interest and space in the Basic Social Studies Program exposes Hanna's scheme, which designates the starting line of learning with near environments and pupils' interest. On the other hand, in the " Investigation of Men's World," the complexity and the remoteness of physical environments represent the growth of intellectual skills or the expansion in the generalizability of a concept.

Second, the content sequencing patterns are changed along with the change of curriculum theories. Hanna's theory of content sequence was symbolized by the "expanding communities of men" embracing the nine basic human activities which are introduced along with students' everyday experiences. The extensiveness of interest principles reflects this basic assumption. However, as seen in the "Investigation of Men's World," the influence of the New Social Studies Movements results in the extensive use of inquiry related principles. Also, for the purpose of generalization, this program introduces the cases of other countries from the early grades; the foreign examples reside in the house of the expanding environments.

Third, this analysis exhibits an important pattern of subject matter versus learner

relationship in a curricular structure. As seen in both programs, the sequencing principles reflecting the logic of subject matter were dominant at the higher grade levels, while the principles reflecting the logic of the learner were dominant at the lower grade levels. This finding suggests a general pattern of vertical structures used in elementary curricula: As a child grows, curriculum content is organized according to the logic of subject matter, rather than the logic of the learner.

Conclusion

Given the paucity of studies about sequencing principles in the social studies area, this paper analyzes historical data using an articulated analytical tool. However, because only one rater was employed in the analysis of the types of sequencing principles, it is impossible to estimate the reliability of the analysis. Also, this analysis indicates that we need to develop a specific coding instruction which is appropriate for the social studies.

This study provides a new perspective for content sequence and presents the idea of content sequence as a combination of various principles grouping different levels of content elements. Also recognized is a need to focus on optimal combination of sequencing principles when we study a curriculum structure or design an actual curriculum series. When we focus on group principles, rather than an individual principle, we can embrace more content elements with harmony.

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Educational Reform and the Unstilled Voice of Progressivism in the Twentieth Century

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In a 1933 issue of *School and Society*, Professor Charles H. Judd of the University of Chicago wrote the following: Among the forces which contribute to the progress of society, there is none which in recent decades has been more aggressive and influential than education. . . . As a result, the communities of the United States have willingly, even eagerly, provided . . . for the election of great institutions to advance knowledge and to make knowledge a common possession of all classes of society (257).

He continued to note that the rural communities are losing educational resources to urban areas, but that the great cities of our society with all of their advances and improvement "have not learned how to organize themselves so as to escape the social infections which result from certain forms of congestion and degeneration." He concluded that "even though the schools provide in constantly increasing measure wholesome conditions of life for the young people, cities are guilty of tolerating . . . surroundings that are unfavorable to proper individual development" (Judd 1993, 258).

As we come to the end of this century and face a new millennium, we can continue to point to scientific advancements, and a democratic form of government that has survived 225 years. Yet, we cannot point to our public schools and say that they have made the same advances, especially when we look at the urban and rural situations. Today reformers, such as Carl Glickman, John Goodlad, and Linda Darling-Hammond call for improving our schools; for organizing them to operate in accord with democratic principles; and for creating and fostering true, authentic, learning environments in our classrooms. These tenets have roots in reform activity that consumed educators across the first three or four decades of this century–efforts that were subsumed under the zeitgeist of Progressivism. The purpose of our paper is to survey these contemporary activities, and then to trace them to parallel efforts that occurred during the period known as the Progressive/Social Reconstruction Era.

Current Reform Efforts

Beginning in the 1980s social and economic pressures produced the beginnings of a wave of reform that is still breaking against the walls of the public school system. The Japanese economy dominated industrial developments, and some critics said it was due to their superior school system. Comparative assessments of math and science scores from twenty-one countries, to the voices calling for school reform. And the blame has been placed squarely on the shoulders of the schools and the preservice programs that prepare the teachers. The 1983 publication of the National Commission on Excellence in Education's A Nation at Risk, called for better qualified teacher education majors and more rigorous teacher preparation programs, and the Holmes trilogy of books advocated postbaccalaureate teacher education programs. More recently the call for reform has continued and another trend of collaborative networks has been established to improve the public school system.

Educational experts such as Glickman, Sizer, and Goodlad have developed reform networks that take shape in local, national, and international initiatives. Glickman's network The League of Professional Schools, reaches throughout Georgia of Nevada. Ted Sizer's Coalition of

Essential Schools is nationwide in school membership and funding, and John Goodlad's National Network of Educational Renewal (NNER) guides the work of thirty-three colleges and universities and over five hundred public schools. These democratic reform efforts bring Colleges and Universities into partnerships with public schools, to examine educational and organizational practices with the goal of improvement. "Glickman argues that many of the current problems of America's schools are grounded in the confusion over what should be the goals of public schooling. In order to rectify the situation he claims that schools must reestablish productive citizenship in a democracy as their primary goal. The purpose of public schools in a democracy, he continues, is to "ensure an educated citizenry capable of participating in discussions, debates, and decisions to further the wellness of the larger community and protect the individual right. . . ." (Glickman 1993, 8-9).

Ann Lieberman asserts that "educational reform networks are fast becoming an important alternative to conventional modes of teacher and school development " (Lieberman 1996, 53). Schools have traditionally led staff development, curriculum directives, and organizational systems from a bureaucratic top down approach. Educational networks try to restore a flexible structure, thus resulting in a more authentic, challenging, and open political perspective on schooling. Goodlad notes that the NNER impetus for school change came from the partner members themselves and not from state or national mandates (Goodlad 1999, 30).

The Oklahoma Networks for Excellence in Education (O.N.E.) is one of these networks that developed from participant interest. It actively works with schools throughout Oklahoma and has recently expanded to include international affiliates in South Africa, Finland, and Kuwait. The common theme connecting each network is a commitment to building democracy through academic principles, ideals and authentic practices based on action, research, practice, and theory. The Oklahoma networks have gained in popularity by offering quality school development on an equal footing among educators and administrators while still providing provocative conversations about education, challenging both teachers and existing bureaucracies to examine the types of learners and citizens they are producing.

O.N.E. has developed a set of I.D.E.A.L.S., which help to guide schools towards serving other communities and themselves more authentically and democratically. These I.D.E.A.L.S. encompass inquiry, discourse, equity, achievement, leadership, and service. This framework allows educational communities to examine their own practices. It gives schools latitude to individualize their work without being mandated to meet unrealistic or meaningless benchmarks determined and set in a top down management style.

O.N.E. schools are drawn into membership within these types of reform networks and find meaning in what they are doing. They are searching for ways to become more effective and to revisit the core meaning and goals of schools.

Glickman asserts the following:

> The great problem of American public education in not that public schools are as horrible as they are often portrayed to be in the media; very few actually are. The problem of public education is its ordinariness. The issue is not how to lift public schools out of disaster. Instead, the issue is how to allow greatness, and provide initiatives and support for inept schools to move toward competence. The first, erroneous perception that public education is mired in disaster-gets the attention. The second, more accurate perception-that schools are ranged along a continuum of ordinariness–needs the real work. (Glickman 1993, 6)

As schools across the country continue to set themselves apart from the pack, or to gain membership in a national pack that supports their ideas, they are all revisiting the idea of authentic practice with a focus on becoming more democratic in the classroom. Yet the idea of democracy in education and other network goals are far from new, and many of these themes have roots in progressive thought and practices that date back to the previous turn of the century.

Reforms During the Progressive/Social Reconstruction Era
Democratic Classrooms and Authentic Learning Environments

Known as the father of Progressive Education, Colonel Francis W. Parker (1837–1902) was probably one of the first educators to espouse the importance of democratic principles in common school administration and operations. In his 1894 Talks on Pedagogics he wrote: " The purpose of a school is educative work [or] self-effort in the direction of personal development" (337). He goes on to describe a school as a community where everyone is engaged in educative work "in the most economical way" that is best for the individual and the whole of the group. He saw the common school as containing all of the necessary ingredients of an "embryonic democracy" (346). Because it was common to all social classes and all intellectual levels, it afforded children the opportunity to practice democratic principles and develop morally and ethically as worthwhile citizens.

Parker thought is was important for teachers to be professionally trained in the art and science of pedagogy, so that these incubators of democracy would be guided and nurtured–tended to–by educational experts. The new educational professional needed to study history, literature, and biography; science; and civics. In addition to having a mastery of the subject matter, Parker believed that the teacher should study psychology of the child in order to prepare the environment for the work of the child–to the "absorption of the mental and moral powers of the child . . . educative work or "self-effort needed for the education of the whole being" (Parker 1894, 340).

Finally, Parker described the meaning of the public school as a place where "children of all classes, of all nationalities, of all sects, of rich and poor alike, children of both sexes, shall work together under the highest and best conditions in one community . . . that they shall have teachers who are trained in the art of all arts–the art of teaching . . . before prejudice has entered their childish souls. . . " (Parker 1894, 420-21).

Some eight years later, Ella Flagg Young (1845-1918) expanded on this line of thinking in an article entitled "The Scientific Method in Education." As part of The University of Chicago's decennial publication under the direction of John Dewey, she called for the scientific method to be applied to all classroom instruction. The two elements involved would be the learning mind and the subject matter or environment, and the teacher needed to have expert knowledge in each area. Other articles that she authored continued this pattern. In "Some Types of Modern Educational Theory," she starts with the premise that humans are essentially social beings and therefore, need to learn how to function effectively in a community. Building on Dewey's notion of the community ideal in "School and Society," Young concludes that:

Subject matter is dealt with in a way which necessitates a harmonious working together of teacher and children, so that the community idea is developed through the exigencies of the school work. The children are members or citizens in the community because the method of work obliges them to be citizens; there is not consciously first the community, then citizens, and then work as citizens; but there is work, community of work involving rights and duties in the community. Through the forms of active occupation, "the school has a chance to affiliate itself

with life, to become the child's habitat, where [s/]he learns through [democratic] living" (Young 1902, 66).

In this way, each "theory makes everything contribute toward the development of the highest form of life of which each soul is capable." In "Ethics in the Schools" she discusses the problems of classroom discipline criticizing the existing practices of teachers: valuing obedience and using sarcasm and punishment over understanding individual approaches and providing incentives and support for this individuality.

School Organization and Democratic Principles

In 1901 Ella Flagg Young's dissertation was published under the title, Isolation in the School. In it she discusses the various parts of the existing school as a social institution as well as the function of a school in a democracy. Her analysis focuses on the what she regards as its chief defect: "the separation of the school into schools–kindergarten, elementary, secondary, college, university–each based upon a theory and method which in itself is original and final." The divisions have not occurred out of "differentiation within a recognized unity," but out of the way in which these parts "have been brought together mechanically, thus making the accepted conception of this great social institution that of an aggregation of independent units," instead of "an organization whose successful operation depends upon a clearly recognized interrelation, as well as distinction, between its various members and their particular duties" (Young 1901, 13).

Due to the distinct lines of demarcation among the various levels, there is little cooperation and collaboration between the elementary and secondary, or the secondary and collegiate. Young points out that with such distinctions little interplay or true cooperation can occur, because it is the "mobility of spirit" resulting from that "interplay of thought between the different groups" that "is the true basis of cooperation" (Young 1901, 16).

In the place of a true cooperative spirit is repetition and time spent by teachers to ensure that the students are ready for the work of this upper grade or division. But, according to Young, it is not a "transition period that should command attention, . . . it is the two consecutive states which should be understood, . . . evolving so gradually out of, or into, the other, that the line of demarcation is imperceptible" (Young 1901, 15).

In 1901 Young thought that the conditions surrounding college and university work was beginning to change so that, instead of being a separate entity receiving qualified students from the lower high school, they were beginning to identify with the whole teaching corp whose work is to mold the human race. Her optimism seems to have been drawn from the fact that the general public had become critical of higher education. While the public school elementary school had always been "under the search-light of the public gaze," only recently had the teachers in the secondary and higher education institutions been under the spotlight of public criticism. Young thought that to answer these criticisms would necessitate the type of seamless collaboration she described above. Unfortunately, a century later we are still riveted to that threshold of " true cooperation."

Finally Young makes the following observations that could be written about today's reforms:

1. Teachers are accused of being opposed to change–a charge they find most perplexing, because they can readily cite reform and change evidence to the contrary.
2. The aim of the public schools is to make students good citizens and productive members of society, but this unity of aim has often been translated to mean uniformity of instruction and has led to heavy top-down supervision. The result is that the teacher is

not free to "teach according to his [or her] 'conscience and power,' but must fit into the "mechanism of the graded system . . . [with its] excessive supervision" (Young 1901, 26-27).

3. In this administrative hierarchy, superintendents and principals don't teach, and thus office/management work is seen as more honorable than teaching and with department headships as the rewards, petty jealousy, and more divisiveness results.

4. The costs of this administrative supervisory work has been at the expense of teachers' salaries.

Young's plan for a more effective organizational structure is found in the third and last section of her dissertation and is entitled the "Function of a School in a Democracy." In this section she returns to the problem of top down supervision by the administrative corps which leads to two classes of professionals: the upper class administrators and the lower level teachers. She points out that this two level aristocracy is counterproductive to a democratic citizenship. She says, "The school cannot take up the question of the development of training for citizenship in a democracy while the teachers are still segregated in two classes." She goes on to point out that:

> In a short time the teachers must cease to occupy the position of initiators in the individual work of instruction and discipline, and must fall into a class of assistants, whose duty consists in carrying out instructions of a higher class which originates method for all. (Young 1901, 106-107)

Young is concerned with the freedom of thought and what happens to a school community when the teachers are so carefully controlled in this manner. Therefore, to secure this freedom, she proposes teachers' councils in each school to deal with questions of policy and legislation. Each one would be small enough to allow for "deliberative, not sensational" discussions so that "free play of thought and its expression" shall prevail (Young 1901, 108).

From the school based councils there would be chosen representatives to a central council. If possible, when questions were being considered for a second time, non-voting attendance of the superintendent or a representative of the administrative force would be useful as long as their opinions would not rule. The relationship of the central council to the superintendent would be similar to the federal legislative and executive branches: if upon the second discussion, the council is not swayed, the superintendent will not try a third time. Instead, he or she "should act in accordance with his own judgment, and be held responsible for the outcome." (Young 1901, 109)

Young is aware that "the most difficult line of action to pursue is that which respects the rights of other minds; not of property, but of thought." However, she believes that this is a necessary condition for schools to work in a democracy, and she concludes:

> From the entrance upon the first year in the kindergarten till the close of the student life, if the school functions as an intrinsic part of this democracy, the child, the youth, and the teacher will each be an organic factor in an organization where the rights and duties will be inseparable; where the free movement of thought will develop great personalities." (Young 1901, 110-11)

Eight years after its publication, Ella Flagg Young was elected as Superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools. She was the first woman to hold such a position in a large urban city, and one of the reasons that she was chosen was her good rapport with a newly formed teachers' union. Known as the Chicago Teachers' Federation (CTF), this group had become more powerful than any of the Chicago businessmen had ever imagined. Under the direction of its Business Representative, Margaret A. Haley (1861-1939), they had brought the city's tax-dodging

corporate structure under the law and had won back-pay for teachers. Haley claimed that Young's dissertation became the "Bible" for the teachers of Chicago. The CTF had been organized in 1896 when Young was an assistant superintendent in the district that felt the first impulses of the organization, and the school board felt that Young could manage them more effectively than any other candidate for the position. In her interview she told the board that she would treat them as an "educational institution" (Haley 1934-35, 342-45).

Superintendent Young implemented her idea of teachers' councils, while, at the same time, her administration was influenced by the current bureaucratic efficiency model. As Progressive historian, Ralph Henry Gabriel pointed out, one of the most important catchwords of the Progressive Era was "efficiency" or "The use of the expert" to gather facts, to become an administrator of policy, and to make democratic government more efficient (Gabriel 1940, 331-40). In line with this thinking, Young explained as she took the reins of Chicago school governance that "democratic efficiency" would be the slogan of her administration. "Whenever I find that I cannot have complete charge of the educational end of the school system," Young announced, "I will quit. I cannot carry out my ideas unless I am given control of affairs" (Chicago Record Herald, 3 August 1909, 3).

Educational Networks and Educational Experts

The notion of experts fit well with the idea of scientific management and with the two ideas combined, progressive educators thought it would be possible to wrest the power of large school systems from ward politics and lay management. To help explain this phenomenon, Tyack uses the term, administrative progressives and describes the networks of male administrators that formed for the purpose of reforming school hiring practices. No longer would politics intervene in hiring school administrators as these progressive networks of leaders developed the standards of merit and quality for hiring and promoting school leaders. "Expertise and efficiency were the guiding principles for selecting administrators [and] the universities were the places where able leaders could acquire such expertise" (Tyack 1982).

While Young was bringing her career to a close, Henry Garland Bennett (1886-1951) was at the beginning of his professional rise as a progressive educator in Oklahoma. He began as a teacher and was quickly promoted to principal, superintendent and then superintendent of a larger school system in 1910. During his nine-year tenure there, he began philosophically to believe that "democratic unity was the key to creating well-funded, expertly staffed, utilitarian schools" (Vaughn-Roberson 1985, 85).

He began to make his views known and gathered a lot of public support. In 1918 he founded the Order of the Red Red Rose, a network for male educators, politicians and selected citizens who would informally meet to "devise strategies for improving education in Oklahoma." By the summer of 1919, there were 30 members who held weekly meetings to plan the work of the order. According to one member,

> The spirit and purpose was to introduce and bring to full flower a leveling process among school men, where the backwoods teacher at the forks of the creek could meet with the college president and city superintendent of schools on equal terms, addressing him as Henry, Tom, and Mell, [sic] and what have you. (Then only school men with a teacher's certificate and a job as teacher were eligible for membership—this of course included county superintendents, as well as the state superintendent.) (C. E. Fair to R. R. Tompkins, 18 March 1953, Red Red Rose file).

Another member felt that "this organization has done much to cement good relations between schools and neophytes, and even among public schools and institutions of higher learning" (Bloomer Sullivan to R R Tompkins, 16 February 1953); and another remembered the dedication to the educational "ideals of good fellowship, democracy and brotherhood" (The Ancient and Beneficent Order of the Red Red Rose, 2). Finally, in the minutes of a 1952 business meeting, the purposes of the order were restated and included: 1) developing "agencies which shall be for the advancement and profit of the teacher"; and 2) working "for the professionalization of teaching and the improvement of public schools and to relentlessly war against all forces opposed to these ends" (Page 4 of 10 pages of minutes of a Stillwater meeting in 1952).

The order was in the tradition of the Cleveland Conference organized in 1915 and boasting members such as: James R. Angell, Leonard P. Ayers, D. C. Bliss, Charles E. Chadsey, Lotus D. Coffman, Ellwood P. Cubberley, Edward C. Elliott, Abraham Flexner, Paul H. Hanus, Walter A. Jessup, Charles H. Judd, Charles H. Kendall, Paul R. Monroe, Henry C. Morrison, Bruce Payne, David Snedden, Frank E. Spaulding, George D. Strayer, and Edward L. Thorndike. Under the direction of Judd this group of educational experts was to take over the historically haphazard approach to public school formation and take up the task of planned educational reform in the name of scientific and social efficiency (Tyack 1982, 131-32).

In the spirit of the progressive expert, Bennett realized that he needed the proper credentials for moving up the ladder of educational administration. Thus, he started as a part-time student and secured his Master of Arts degree from The University of Oklahoma in 1924. He was able to take a leave of absence and with funding from the Rockefeller Foundation studied for his Ph.D. at Teachers College, Columbia where he came in contact with administrative progressive luminaries such as Strayer and Briggs. His credential bore fruit as he climbed from a teacher's college presidency to ultimately become the President of Oklahoma State University. And his dissertation laid out the groundwork for a state board of higher education that would "control the proliferation of institutions by approving charters for new private or public schools" (Vaughn-Roberson 1985, 90). In the name of social democracy and efficiency, this idea of a top-down administrative structure was implemented in Oklahoma in 1941 with the creation of the Oklahoma State System for Higher Education and its administrative board, The Oklahoma State Regents of Higher Education (Vaughn-Roberson 1985, 96).

None of these progressives seemed to notice the incongruous position in which they had placed themselves, that is, "a small self-appointed group of experts proposing a 'democratic' revision of studies from the top down." As Tyack has noted of the Cleveland Conference:

> The annual meeting did offer educational leaders a chance to achieve common understandings and goals in an informal setting—a prelude to more united action in their own domains, whether in a city school system, a foundation, a university, or another position of influence." (Tyack 1982, 132)

Credentialing and Upgrading the Teaching Profession

The year following the organization of the Red Rose Order, the Governor of Oklahoma—a rose member—supported legislation that upgraded the six normal institutions to the status of teachers' colleges. However, Oklahoma was not unique in implementing an upgrading in teacher credentialing. During the 1920s and 1930s most normal schools had become teachers' colleges or colleges of education in universities. And by the 1940s most of them were granting bachelors degrees after four years of study. This upgrading was particularly significant in the elementary preparation of teachers. While it was not uncommon to require a bachelor's degree

for secondary teaching in 1921, no state required collegiate study for elementary certification. In fact, fourteen states required high school graduation and four required some post-secondary preparation (Vaughn and Smith 1997, 42).

By 1950 twenty-one states required a degree for initial elementary certification, and forty-two states required it for secondary certification, but it was not until 1967 that all but three states required degrees as an elementary credential. On the other hand, a bachelor's degree was required by all states for secondary certification (Fuller and Pearson eds. 1969, 394).

Over the next decade all states required bachelor's degrees in principle, but due to teacher shortages, emergency and alternative routes to teaching have become popular thereby, making standard state certification requirements difficult to enforce. Nevertheless the calls for reform continued. During the late fifties and sixties, teachers and the public schools were criticized because "Johnny couldn't read" and the "new math" had failed.

By the 1980s and 1990s under various criticisms surrounding the performance of students on achievement tests, it was time to reform again: to upgrade the teaching credential to a masters level and to form new networks of educators from all levels that would work shoulder to shoulder to improve the public schools and restore democratic principles.

Conclusion

Many have argued that Progressivism may never have been truly a movement, and Lawrence Cremin has paralleled its dwindling influence with the demise of the Progressive Education Association in the 1950s (Cremin 1964, 269-70). Yet, we have argued that its purposes, social and intellectual tenets, and values, have been the underpinnings of recurring reform efforts throughout the twentieth century. Dewey's ideas have been redressed to provide many of the philosophical bases for present school reform and Parker's descriptions of schools as "embryonic democracies" are revisited in many of the school renewal agendas.

The idea of educational networks—of bringing educational experts and teaching professionals together to advance the profession of teaching and improve the work of the schools—is an essential pattern in the work of Glickman, Goodlad, and Annenburg schools, and it has roots that are as deep as the work of the administrative progressives. Labels have changed. The ideas imbedded in Parker's embryonic democracies and Young's "community development form the exigencies of school work, " are subsumed under the umbrella of "authentic practices and learning environments."

Dealing with the structure of schools is also a current problem that calls for democratic reform. Once again, in her Isolation in the School, Young noted over ninety years ago that it was time to restructure schools so that there are not two classes of school citizens: the professional administrators and the semi-professional teachers and that teachers needed an active voice in their daily professional lives.

Finally, we have revisited the progressive idea of the upgrading of credentials. From normal schools, to teachers' colleges, to four-year degrees, to masters' degrees, the bar for preparation has been raised. But even after successfully clearing the hurdles, criticism remains, and the bar is raised yet again. Most recently this has taken the form of report cards that are being mandated by Title II of the Higher Education Act and implemented by state boards and educational agencies. Does this mean that progressive ideals have failed again? That we will continue to value democratic concepts that cannot work in schools? We think not. Instead, we would argue that educational programs have failed to make effective use of our educational past. Our progressive educational history has lessons to teach us, but as Harry Broudy pointed out

twenty years ago, our collective ignorance of this past has led us to believe that we are entering new reform modes with new innovative solutions. We as educational historians have work to do so that the unstilled voices of progressivism and the deafening silences of other educational reform efforts will not haunt us or follow us into the twenty-first century and so that "historical ignorance will not remain [the parent] of recurring educational innovations" (Broudy 1974, 1).

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The Reform of Reform: How Business-led Reformers Have Changed Their Tune

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Today's educational reformers, who are led by corporate leaders, attack the public schools' performance. Much of their attack is based on their view that the schools are rigid, bureaucratic, hierarchical organizations unable to change to meet the needs of our global society. The major irony of this situation is that the current public school systems became that way early in the 20th century due a great deal to the influence of corporate leaders who insisted on those reforms to match their image of businesslike organization. Both then and now, the reformers have deemed educators as at fault for having out of date systems, supposedly put into place by educators. The reality is that public school systems have always used business models or organization to operate the schools and have changed to fit the new reformers' models whenever possible. What we are now seeing is the business reformers attack on an earlier business reformers' model of organization, a bureaucratic model that will not go away.

These corporate reformers now insist that we must make a fundamental change in how we operate public education in the United States. They attack the rigidity of a bureaucratic system of education that is unresponsive to student needs (Gerstner 1994, Kearns and Doyle 1988, Kearns and Harvey 2000, Schlechty 1997). Their answer is to change the entire focus of the system away from staff needs to student learning outcomes. This means constant attention to innovation within schools, with teachers provided the training and incentives to ensure continuous improvement for all students. Teachers would also have to be treated like true professionals with enough autonomy to make significant decisions as to the best methods for success. Principals would become leaders within their schools, freed of much bureaucratic pressure to hew the district line while facilitating the development of their staff and students. There would be a focus on clear learning goals so that "all children can learn." Educators within each school would be accountable for results, with specific rewards for student improvement and sanctions for students' lack of improvement. In short, schools would become like businesses. Market considerations would matter more than bureaucratic control. So, has this occurred in American schools to date? Has bureaucracy been destroyed, hierarchy removed, and have principals become leaders of an autonomous, professional staff of teachers free to instruct as they desire in an innovative manner in a system of ever-increasing continuous student progress? And, are teachers rewarded for student success with sanctions given to poor teachers? I would say not very often.

Much of the current complicated hierarchical structure of public education was designed in the 1910s and 1920s, set by an "interlocking directorate" of reformers similar in nature to the reformers of today. The model was then set of the strong superintendent, small school board, expanded layers of administrative and supervisory employees, differentiated school structure, and students grouped by ability to indicate individual differences (Tyack 1974). It was also an era when opponents viewed reformers as an aristocratic clique who sent their children to private schools but tried to impose their values on the public school system anyway. David B. Tyack also notes that the era's reformers placed a "utopian trust in progress through structural reforms in education" (Tyack 1974, 167). All of this still applies today in a system not much different in structure than in 1920.

The reforms of recent years have in many ways reinforced the bureaucratic, hierarchical system put into place in the progressive era and expanded by the federal and state mandates of

the last four decades. Federal programs, which add so much to the bureaucracy and fragmentation of our schools, have not gone away, whereas state legislatures have merely changed from one set of mandates to another. States demand that districts add certain academic courses to student programs, set up more frequent state exams, add courses and exams to state certification and licensing procedures, and employ state academic standards in core subjects to which the districts are required to adhere. State education agencies insist that educators are free to meet the standards as they wish, but teachers are not given the time, training, or even the materials to attain the goals set by others.

In their defense, reformers would say that the reforms have just begun. State standards are new, "benchmark" state exams based on those standards are just now being given, and accountability measures have not been fully implemented. Therefore, how can one suggest reforms have failed when they are not yet all in place? My contention is that the bureaucratic, hierarchical, efficiency-driven reforms of eight decades ago are so lodged in our education system as to preclude the widespread change fervently advocated by business reformers.

Above all, these corporate leaders advocate change for its own sake. Louis Gerstner, ex-CEO of IBM, insists that the problem with schools is that they are not forced to continuously adapt themselves to the changes in their students and the demands of society and the economy (Gerstner 1994). Gerstner and other business leaders mimic Peter Drucker's contention that in business and society we need to encourage the habits of flexibility, acceptance of change, and continuous learning so that our institutions fit the needs of the time (Drucker 1985). Phillip Schlechty calls for a "fundamental reexamination of the assumptions upon which our system is based and a willingness to modify these assumptions in ways that take account of the emerging realities of the twenty-first century" (Schlechty 1997, 15). Schlechty states that public schools are not at present designed either to take advantage of problems or equipped to invent solutions but instead are program-implementing, problem-avoiding organizations that implement others' solutions (Schlechty 1997, 124). His answer is for schools to reinvent themselves. They must adopt new practices, procedures, policies, and programs while abandoning old ones. He insists that we must "alter the rules, roles, and relationships that define the system of education, even the shared beliefs, commitments, values, lore, and traditions in which structure is embedded (Schlechty 1997, 135). In other words, he wants to destroy the entire past! However, he vastly underestimates the difficulty of changing either the structure of education or the values educators' hold.

As Muncey and McQuillen noted in their detailed study of school change, the presence of teachers willing to embrace reforms guarantees nothing. First, only some teachers are interested in school reform. Second, the actions of the reform-minded teachers almost always means resistance by other teachers who feel slighted or threatened by the attention given the reform teachers (Muncey and McQuillen 1996). Reformers underestimate the difficulty of expanding reform programs if no consensus exists in a school about the need for reform. Further, schools often have massive space and scheduling constraints. In Delaware, the legislature passed a law forcing all K-3 classrooms to be reduced to a maximum of 22 students per classroom. In fact, most elementary schools are full and the legislature has not made provision to build more classrooms or pay the many new teachers needed. Reformers believe that we all must refocus from what teachers do to what students do. Students are viewed as customers, so the core business of schooling must be to engage students in work that motivates them, whatever that takes.

Reformers insist that the students-as-customers need a belief by educators that all students can learn at high levels. Educators must now ask not what is wrong with students but with their school work. As Schlechty insists, if school districts cannot sustain fundamental reform at the classroom level, then school reform is a lost cause. If so, so is America's "noble struggle to provide an elite education for nearly everyone" (Schlechty 1997, 16). Reformers might note that educators tend to categorize students into ability levels, which often results in lower-performing students falling further behind because less is expected of them. However, this was the crux of administrative progressive reforms so favored by the business reformers of that time as a method of making education more efficient (Gelberg 1997). Each student was tested and then placed in a curriculum level and type to fit his or her adult destiny. Current reformers assume educators brought this system into existence on their own when in fact they were forced into it long ago.

Having all children receive an elite education would be a real revolution in American education. Not only has this never been true in the United States, it has never occurred in any diverse nation in the world. Reformers wish to force educators to deny the existence of social class differences in America. Schools once again become the panacea for an entire nation (Perkinson 1968; Tyack and Cuban 1995). But what is an elite education; just high test scores? Reformers say that it includes that, but also a massive attitude change in which all students are able to use information in innovative and cooperative ways in order to solve any problems they might encounter. Students must be able to think, reason, and use their minds well.

Reformers such as Schlechty also demand that students become workers. What they really mean is that students must become good workers in a changing capitalist economy. They will be able to work in teams, with complex systems, a variety of technologies, organize and manage information, and integrate workplace skills, all while learning to be good citizens and participants in the larger society. Schlechty laments that schools too often meet parents needs better than what other stakeholders desire. By "other stakeholders," he really means businesspeople (Schlechty 1997). There is no recognition that parents have the primary responsibility for their own children. Apparently parents have no more right to control their children than those in business who would someday hire their children. It is hard to believe many parents really agree with this assumption.

More supportable is the reformers' contention that students should be able to take risks without fear of embarrassment and to know and apply their knowledge in a rich atmosphere of intellectual activity. However, just how are students to have time to experiment with ideas and materials if all education is to be reduced to clear goals to be met on a timetable, as reformers insist? Following the lead of *In Search of Excellence*, business reformers assert that the modern managerial approach forces businesses to develop clear goals and strategies to reach them, with concrete plans for continual improvement (Peters 1982). The organization can then assess the strengths and weaknesses in the process so to meet better the clients' needs. This is managing by results.

Gerstner applies this attention to results when he says that the 19th century schools held pedagogy constant and let results vary, when we need now to vary the pedagogy to get uniform, high results for all children (Gerstner 1994). But how many educators believe that uniform high results are possible for all children? Certainly the public school system has not operated that way during the last century. As Joel Spring has said, public schools have had the task of sorting students for the future academic and work life, and it was the businessmen of the National Association of Manufacturers who led the way with their sponsorship of the Smith-Hughes Act

of 1917 (Spring 1989). Nixon's career education plans of the 1970s attempted to reassert the separation of educational goals by ability (Marland 1974). And hasn't this been the policy of our public high schools for the last 80 years, as Angus and Mirel note in their recent book (Angus and Mirel 1999)?

There are problems with a goal-centered education, just as there are in business. Many benchmarking exercises focus too much on outcomes without a clear understanding of what takes place in the processes of attaining those outcomes (Zairi and Leonard 1994). In education, the processes of education IS education, as Jerome Bruner stated decades ago (Bruner 1960). The process of education not only defines what teachers do but how well the student will be able to use the information and skills gained to produce new learning for themselves and society, which is ostensibly the point of education according to many reformers. Business reformers are mainly interested in results, however, and this means criterion-referenced test scores. They want a closed system with unequivocal yardsticks pointed toward the improvement of test scores; this "productivity" defines education for them.

Reformers want to ensure that whatever goals are set, there will be continuous progress made toward those goals. As in business, there must be measures of progress so that actions are channeled to an ever-improving customer value. One establishes performance objectives, measures performance, compares performance with the objectives, and then takes necessary action to close the gap (Zairi and Leonard 1994).

In order to attain continuous improvement, organizations must have leadership. For schools, principals must lead innovation because teachers have limited time for the coordination of activities outside their classroom (Sergiovanni 1998). Successful school change has occurred where principals were forceful, committed, and had the authority to hire and replace staff. What reformers have ignored is the importance of small school size (Muncey and McQuillan 1996). The board and superintendent must provide the decentralized power to give the principal leeway to make real choices. Only then can the principal unite teachers, staff, and parents in a common vision. Successful principals are good communicators who can market ideas to a range of constituents, build teams of teachers and parents, delegate power to the teachers, and develop teacher leaders. Also, school district offices should become service agencies that provide the material support to make change possible rather than dictating rules and a standard curriculum. It is unlikely that this will happen in many districts as they are now structured. What is the incentive for a central administration to give up power? As Denise Gelberg notes in her study of Rochester, New York during the 1980s, the superintendent directed the central administration to service the principals rather than dictate to them. But due both to active and passive resistance, the central administration staff thwarted effective decentralization to separate schools (Gelberg 1997).

The most revolutionary position business reformers take in education is their demand that teachers become empowered as true professionals. As Peter Drucker stated a half century ago, all workers must have power to make decisions if the organization is to be improved over time. He called for a "Taylorism of the qualitative" to value each person's "ability to make whole of many things, to judge, to plan, and to change" (Drucker 1954, 293). Since he believes all people are workers who desire to do their best, people must be given enough responsibility to carry out their wishes. Or, as reformer Philip Schlechty suggests, if teachers are to be accountable for results, they must have the authority needed to make decisions and the time required to invent intellectually demanding work for students (Schlechty 1997, 71). Teachers need more than permission to act on their own, there must be a structural change supported by a basic cultural

change towards teacher empowerment. That is, the bureaucratic system must agree that teachers are worthy of the freedom to make daily classroom decisions.

With such an assumption the teacher becomes, in business language, a local manager of learning. She sets objectives, organizes the curriculum, motivates and communicates with students, manages by objectives, and develops students as people. Gertsner goes so far as to suggest that teachers should be trained in budgeting, communications, small group management, leadership, and quality assessment, so that schools develop the techniques of the well-run company (Gertsner 1994, 262). Teachers also need to be counselors, learning managers, continual learners, authors, and participants in an ever-changing classroom learning situation.

So where does the teacher find time to do all of this? If teachers are given the freedom to make all the major decisions about her students' learning, where will she find time to integrate computer software into her lessons? Or to find manipulatives for student use? Or to collaborate with fellow teachers in a grade or school-wide curriculum project? Or to visit other teachers, mentor or be mentored by fellow educators, much less take part in research (Gandara 1999)? If any of this fails to occur, then teachers feel overwhelmed, get discouraged, and pull back from the constant, wearing call for continuous improvement of student learning and her techniques. As Zairi and Leonard suggest, if any organization believes that people are its main asset, it is crucial to attain employee satisfaction (Zairi and Leonard 1994). In schools as in business, total quality management assumes workers have both responsibility and time to manage their complex work. Without both, school reform will fail.

Even with responsibility and time, can teachers sustain constant change? One of the biggest problems now in the profession is teacher burnout (Gelberg 1997). It is hard to imagine that most teachers want to spend a lot of time on change and restructuring of their schools. There is only so much change any teacher can stand because what sustains many teachers is their emotional bond with children, an interchange far more rewarding to teachers than mere increases in student test scores or change for its own sake (Sergiovanni 1998). As Peter Drucker states, the major incentives to productivity are social and moral (Drucker 1950). Teachers like working with young people as humans. This takes stability, not constant change. Meanwhile, teachers face a huge number of state standards in the major curriculum areas, which are not of her making. She confronts constant pressure to increase test scores and a sharpened performance evaluation of her as a teacher.

In addition, teacher unions are challenged to change their goal of protecting teacher rights, duties, and benefits. But teachers still need these protections. The nonunion business model leaves teachers open to abuse. They still need protection from salary cutbacks, arbitrary assignments, and decaying classroom conditions. To give these hard-fought protections up for vague promised rewards is dangerous for teachers. If teachers as a profession have control of teacher evaluations, as is apparently occurring in Delaware with a Professional Standards Board, perhaps then they can believe the system will be fair. Yet in a reform ideology where test scores encompass student success, why will teachers ever see significant autonomy? State standards and tests guarantee the perpetuation of centralized power in education, not it's demise. The primary hope for school improvement, as Grant and Murray suggest, is in a "slow revolution" of the 30 to 40 percent of teacher who believe they can influence school decisions because they have sufficient time and collaboration to improve student learning (Grant and Murray 1999). Reformers just do not understand that well-supported competent teachers are the best assurance of high quality student learning, not system-wide change.

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The Status of Social Studies Curriculum for World Understanding After the World War II: 1945-50

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The war was over, but its effects remained. It was clear that schools were not ivory towers isolated from the world. The war had drawn teachers away from their classrooms and distorted their curriculums. After the war, the problems of our schools became urgent. Moreover, the teaching of peace as one of our ideals became a new mission of education. For our children, schools were to lay the foundations for peace and understanding in a changing world. The world was growing smaller, and our children needed a new world outlook.

So then, what changes in the classroom were needed? Schools had to broaden their curriculums to enable youth to develop the increased understanding, insights, and knowledge necessary in a world society. The responsibility of the schools to help students develop a world outlook would fall most heavily upon the social studies. Social studies, therefore, had to have something to offer to the broader understanding of the modern world. Social studies had to develop a curriculum that enabled the young not only to better grasp particular local and national problems, but also to understand international relations. A program of education for the world ahead had to be formulated in social studies.

Therefore, this paper examines the social studies curriculum of 1945-1950, a period that witnessed a refocusing on world understanding. At that time, there were numerous calls for education in world understanding. However, what should be taught, as envisioned by the educators of the time, did not often correspond with what was actually taught. Actual practice in the classrooms did not measure up to the ideals of the educational curriculum. To gain an insight into this discrepancy, this paper critically reviews the social studies curriculum and problems countered at that time, on the basis of surveys conducted during 1945-50. Those surveys provide statistical data on social studies curriculums and point out the problems in the classrooms. The paper attempts to answer the questions of what and how social studies courses were actually taught. In addition, the paper reviews the core program, which was considered at the time as adequate instruction for world understanding. The problems of veterans after the war are not dealt with in this paper, although their influence on education was significant.

Offerings and Registrations of Social Studies Courses

A study conducted by the U. S. Office of Education in 1949 reported the registrations in high school social studies and certain characteristics of instruction in social studies for the school year 1946-47[1]. It shows the percentage of offerings of social studies and the percentage of students taking social studies at each grade level. It appears that more than 90 percent of public high schools offered social studies courses at grades 7, 8, and 11. Most students took social studies courses at grades 7, 8, 11, and 12. Of the 3-year high schools, 50 percent required six semesters of social studies and 24.7 percent of the schools required four semesters. Of the 4-year high schools, 42.6 percent required four semesters, and 27.1 percent of those required six semesters in

1. The sample of this study includes 501 of 23,947 public high schools, which are randomly selected in the United States. See, Howard R. Anderson, "Teaching of United States History in Public High Schools", *U.S. Office of Education Bulletin*, 7(1949).

the United States[2]. These figures indicate that secondary students in the United States had substantial exposure to social studies courses.

Were students, then, taking more social studies courses during 1945-50 than previous years? To answer that questions, it is meaningful to note trends in the percentage of students taking social studies courses by comparing registrations in social studies during 1946-47 with those reported for 1933-34. According to the percentage of total student-semesters in grades 7 and 8 and 9 to 12 devoted to instruction in social studies and in United States history[3], there was a slight increase (5.2%) between 1933-34 and 1946-47 in the percentage of all social studies in which students registered in grades 9 to 12, but a decrease (5.4%) in grades 7 to 8. However, the percentage of students who were taking United State history among social studies courses greatly increased in both grades 7 and 8 (15.2%) and grades 9 to 12 (7.7%). While social studies courses were more emphasized than other subjects in upper grade levels, there was a shade of difference in all social studies courses registered by students in secondary schools between 1933-34 and 1946-47. The most noticeable figure is that courses in United States history greatly increased in each grade during the period.

To understand the changes in emphasis among the subjects of social studies courses in more detail, we need to look not only at the proportion of student-semesters for U.S. history, but also the proportion for various other social studies subjects. The survey reported in 1949 shows the trend in registrations in social studies, grades 7 and 8, and grades 9 to 12 in 4-year high schools[4].

Between 1933-34 and 1946-47, student-semester hours for U.S. history courses had an approximately 20-percent increase in grades 7 and 8, and a 9-percent increase in grades 9 to12. It appears that there was a high proportional increase for courses of state history in each grade. The 3.8 percent increase in grades 7 and 8, and 1.6 percent increase in grades 9 to 12 for world history is noticeable. There were increases for civics and citizenship (grade total 3.6%), and slight increases for modern history (0.6%), international relations (0.3%), while there were decreases for problems of democracy, geography, government, economics, sociology, and ancient and medieval history. For geography, it appears a noticeable decrease from 29 to 15.6 percent at grades 7 and 8, but a small increase from 2.5 to 4.3 percent at grades 9 to 12. The largest decrease in grades 9 to 12 was for ancient and medieval history, a decline from 14.8 to 1.3 percent. Overall, most attention was given to teaching United States history, which accounted for 53 percent of all social studies subjects in grades 7 and 8 and 33.8 percent in grades 9 to 12, and world history, which accounted for 6.3 percent in grades 7 and 8 and 19.3 percent in grades 9 to 12. History courses, including U.S., local, world, and modern history, comprised the 60 percent lower level and 59.5 percent of upper level grades.

A shift of emphasis in the allotment of subjects reveals efforts to understand the contemporary international scene. Ironically, the share of courses given to U.S. and local history increased in proportion to that of world history at the same time that the schools were embracing the goal of improved world understanding in secondary schools. What was intended was that

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2. The average high school requirements of social studies in Wisconsin States were three units. See, L. Haas, "Status of social studies in Wisconsin secondary schools", *Social Education* 10 (May 1946): 213-216.

3. The percentages were obtained by dividing the number of student-semesters of instruction in social studies by the total possible number of student-semesters. See, *U.S. Office of Education Bulletin*. 7 (1949).

4. See ibid.

students gain not only a blueprint for new international relations, but also a better grasp of particular local and national problems. The world role of the United States during and after World War II increased, and the educational emphasis was given to U.S. foreign relations. The share of courses allotted to history, especially local and U.S. history, tended to deal with the world scene from the point of view of United States. The idea was that world understanding and world citizenship had to come through local and national understanding and citizenship.

Although there was not a nationally accepted sequence in social studies for grades 7 to 12, the most widely accepted sequence was the following[5]: grade 7, geography; grade 8, U.S. history; grade 9, civics and citizenship; grade 10, world history; grade 11, U.S. history; and grade 12, problems of democracy, or government and economics. The ninth grade civics and citizenship courses were required in about one-half of the states. World history was elective in about one-third of high schools in Wisconsin, whereas most high schools required a United States history course. Geography is usually an elective course in Wisconsin high schools. Forty-nine percent of the junior high schools and 23.5 percent of the senior high schools in the United States mandated the inclusion of local and state history, but 68 percent of the junior high schools and 61.7 percent of the senior high schools taught and emphasized local and state histories[6].

There were considerable efforts to adapt social studies courses to world changes after the war[7]. Many courses were added or dropped, and most of the new courses were offered in the eleventh or twelfth grades. Those courses were usually elective. However, most of the change was in the relative emphasis on certain topics rather than in the total number of courses. Courses were not added or dropped; rather, revisions were made within the existing curricular framework. Merideth states that the change was primarily in the names of courses[8]. The range of offerings in social studies increased. U.S. history courses became more and more a graduation prerequisite, and problems of democracy, as a twelfth grade subject, was being offered to a greater extent. In practice, however, social studies courses did not seem to gain any greater share of the total high school course schedule, although they received more attention due to the rapidly changing social environment after the end of World War II. The trends in high schools during that period were toward technical and vocational education[9]. Schools preparing a majority of their students for colleges had smaller relative enrollments in the field of social studies[10]. Moreover, schools with rich programs, including social studies, tended to have lower relative enrollments in social studies than did other schools. Brighter students in New York , for example, generally took only

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5. There is slight difference between the data of surveys because of different school system and samples. See, *U.S. Office of Education Bulletin* 7 (1949); Dorothy Merideth, "Secondary Social Studies in 1945", *Social Education* 9 (Dec. 1945): 345-349; L. Haas, "Status of Social Studies in Wisconsin Secondary Schools"; Jack Allen (ed), "The Teacher of Social Studies", *Twenty Third Yearbook of the National Council for Social Studies* (Washington D.C. 1952): 56.

6. *U.S. Office of Education Bulletin* 7 (1949).

7. Ibid; Dorothy Merideth, "Secondary Social Studies in 1945".

8. Dorothy Merideth, Ibid.

9. Pearl Mayefsky, "Revitalize the Social Studies and the Humanities", *High Points*. 28 (Jan. 1946); Edwin M. Barton, "Social Studies in New Jersey Secondary Schools", *Social Education*. 11 (Jan. 1947): 29-31.

10. A Survey conducted by the New Jersey Association of Teachers of the Social Studies in Febrary 1946. See, Edwin M. Barton, "Social Studies in New Jersey Secondary Schools".

a minimum of social studies courses, because many social studies were not regarded by brighter students as substantial and challenging enough to be worth their efforts[11] .

Teaching Social Studies: Objectives, contents, methods, and problems

There was a growing tendency to categorize the objectives of social studies according to attitudes, understanding, abilities and skills. The survey reported in 1949 shows that the attitude of good citizenship was a required or a strongly urged goal of social studies in most states[12]. The survey reveals that the most frequent objectives were, in order, the understanding of good citizenship in a democracy, social science skills and abilities, and social science subjects. About twice as many objectives have to .do with behaviors and attitudes as with facts and understanding. Facts and understanding of social science subjects, however, was considerably high in frequency of objectives. These figures show that the subject-matter-oriented curriculum was weighted in secondary school studies.

To determine how well students understood the goals of social studies programs, a survey was conducted in which Los Angeles high school students were asked to identify the chief purpose of their social studies class[13]. More than 52.5 percent of students understood that the main goal of social studies was to develop good American citizens, while 35 percent of them recognized the goal as to relate the present to the past. The reason for those opinions is probably that the majority of social studies was history. Twenty-five percent of the students understood the goal of social studies as the evaluation of the contemporary situation. The students' notion in relation to world understanding as a goal of social studies was not likely revealed.

Young cites social studies courses in Des Moines, Iowa that evince more specific aims[14]. Those objectives also did not reflect the particular changes of the society which had experienced the war, nor did they indicate how they would help in the interpretation of those changes. According to a survey reported in 1947[15], it appears that those objectives were not clear to social studies teachers. Approximately 55 percent of the teachers answered that the general objectives were not explained, and 50 percent of the schools did not discuss the objectives during the teachers' meetings. Moreover, 70 percent of the teachers responded on the survey maintained that they were unable to accomplish their teaching aims in the face of their class loads[16]. The survey reveals that social studies objectives were neither revised nor actually taught in class.

Because the courses that had the primary responsibility in regard to teaching world understanding were social studies courses, it was necessary to develop a program of instruction for international understanding. Zuillen suggested ways by

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11. Carlos De Zafra, "A post war Approach to Social Studies Teaching", *Social Studies*. 37 (Oct. 1946).

12. James M. Bradfield, "Wither Secondary Social Studies?," *California Journal of Secondary Education*. 24 (March 1949).

13. Edwin W. Olmstead, "American History Teachers States Their Case", *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 22 (Nov. 1947).

14. See, M. M. Young, "Curriculum Trends in the Social Studies".

15. A questionnaire conducted to 125 teachers and administrators in 1947. See, T.E. Connolly Jr. "A Social Studies Teacher on General Objectives", *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 22 (Nov. 1947)

16. Edwin W. Olmstead, "American History Teachers States Their Case".

17. I. James Zuillen, "The Role of the Social Studies Teacher in the Postwar World", *Social Education*, 9 (January 1945).

which social studies could contribute to the development of international understanding and world citizenship :[17].

1. Examine the present content of social studies courses and eliminate material which may lead to prejudice, intolerance, and antagonism toward other peoples.
2. Introduce content that will lead to an understanding and appreciation of the peoples of other nations.
3. Emphasize world unity, world heroes, the victories of peace, the welfare of mankind in historical study.
4. Utilize content from geography and economics to develop an understanding of the distribution of world population in relation to natural resources.
5. Study other cultures and world history extensively and use material from art, literature, music, and dance as well as factual information in such study. The study of world history and world culture should be required of all high schools.
6. Use symbols of world unity in documents, people, flags, music, and the like as they already exist and are developed.

Many problems arose, however, when teachers applied those guidelines in the classroom. As examined earlier, there were courses offerings related to modern world problems and international relations. According to teachers' reports[18], however, few of the new courses were actually taught. The report reveals that teachers seldom followed the prescribed social studies curriculum. In fact, social studies teachers seldom received comprehensive guidance, which hindered any efforts to improve in social studies instruction. In the same report, moreover, only one of the 35 curriculums examined had an active curriculum committee for reviewing or for improving the contents in harmony with community changes. The current social studies curriculum seemed to be hardly ever reexamined or introduced. As a result, approximately two-thirds of curriculum was out of date, and courses were duplicated or had gaps in contents between grades[19]. New courses, such as problems of democracy or international relations, were frequently simple repeats of parts of traditional subjects, such as U.S. history and modern history.

Reports indicated that teachers met difficulties teaching the new courses. The teachers had little idea of what and how the new courses were to contribute to world understanding and how to merge old subjects into new subjects. A survey revealed the following problems of social studies curriculum[20]:

1. Use of old materials, particularly textbooks.
2. No additions or revisions in newer textbooks to reflect modern local and world problems and the relationship of those problems to the local community.
3. Lack of curriculum flexibility.
4. No correlation with other subjects or among other social studies subjects.

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18. Thirty-five social studies curriculums are examined in California in 1951. See, J. D. McAulay, "What is wrong with the Social Studies?", *Social Education*, 16 (Dec. 1952): 377-378.
19. Albert H. Sayer, "Horse and Buggy Supervision in the Atomic age", *High Point*. 21 (April 1947): 17-24.
20. J. D. McAulay, "What's Wrong with the Social Studies?"

Correlated, fused, and integrated courses at the junior high school level received considerable experimentation, and those courses were emphasized during 1945-50[21]. Life problems in relation to world understanding, for example, were the subjects of core courses, which drew on social studies. In a survey of courses[22], it appears that social studies mostly followed the traditional subject-oriented curriculum rather than fused, correlated, or integrated curriculum. When social studies were taught in relation to different subjects by the same teacher, there was a tendency to neglect the teaching of the subjects with which the teacher was not familiar. In fact, many teachers reported the difficulties in the connection of other subjects[23].

Teachers also mentioned difficulties in finding suitable materials[24]. Once they found materials available, they were often ill-adapted to the abilities and interests of the students. Yet, the textbooks remained a fundamental and essential factor in social studies. Teachers reported inadequate and out-of-date textbooks. It was found, for example, that many topics concerned with peaceful international relations were missing from the textbooks or were treated inadequately[25]. History texts stressed the parts played by conflicting imperialism during the last one hundred years and included details on the causes of war. Textbooks showed how the desire to control raw materials causes nations to adopt aggressive foreign policies and how nations compete to secure possession of strategic points in world transportation routes. Those examples of textbook contents were incompatible with the new demands on education to foster peace and world understanding and to present students with successful examples of international cooperation to secure a lasting peace after the war. There was no room for adequately treating historical examples of peaceful and successful international cooperation.

Nonetheless, the most important guide was the textbook, since at that time other educational materials were not well developed. Only 1.39 percent of school expenditures was books in the schools declined to an extremely low figure, while overall expenditures for devoted to textbooks in the United States[26]. In the case of New York City, the expenditure for education increased[27]. However, unfavorable conditions were reported in regard to maps, globes, charts, and audio-visual materials[28]. Teachers reported the needs of larger globes, better maps, new types of maps, more reading materials, more film projectors, and radios. Frequently, films were received were out of style or not suited to the grade or unit, and the quality of the film was inferior to the commercial films to which students had become accustomed[29].

In addition, 37.5 percent of the teachers reported more than 35 students in their classes, and 52.5 percent reported 35 or less[30]. Teachers had to manage large classes, as well as having to find visual and auditory aids, know about the latest texts, and act as guidance counselors to students. Such conditions prevent them from achieving much progress in the improvement of

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21. Jack Allen (ed.), "The Teacher of Social Studies", *Twenty Third Yearbook of the National Council for Social Studies*, (Washington D.c., 1952): 58-59.

22. Edwin W. Olmstead, "American History Teachers States Their Case".

23. Irene S. Taub, "The Teacher Reports His Problems in Social Studies Methods", *High Points*, 29 (April 1949): 43-54.

24. Richard L. Wysong and George H. Nelson, "Peaceful International Correlation", *Social Studies*, 37 (March 1946): 104-108.

25. Lloyd W. King, "The Textbook in Postwar Education", *High Point* 28 (January 1946): 18-14.

26. Ibid.

27. Edwin W. Olmstead, "American History Teachers States Their Case".

28. Irene S. Taub, "The Teacher Reports His Problems in Social Studies Methods".

29. Edwin W. Olmstead, ibid.

30. Ibid.

social studies instruction. Teachers reported that they could not keep pace with the requirements of a program. Only 15 percent of the teachers were satisfied with their work at the end of a class[31]. In the face of the large class loads and other trying conditions, teachers were not often able to accomplish their teaching aims and to conduct an adequate core curriculum. However, the most serious problem, which prevented teachers from conducting high-quality social studies curriculum, appears to be in the preparation of teachers during 1945-50.

Teacher Preparation

Social studies teachers represented nearly 21 percent of all secondary school teachers[32]. Undoubtedly, teachers had the most important role in a successful instruction. What they learned in college and their preparation influenced teaching profoundly. The National Council for Social Studies mentioned that the preparation of teachers in social studies usually followed one of three routes[33]: (1) they took the program offered in many four-year liberal arts colleges, with or without professional courses; (2) they added a year of graduate study, which would certainly include professional courses, to a four-year undergraduate program; or (3) they attended a four- or five-year teachers' college.

The quality of teachers, however, continued to deteriorate in many parts of the country. According to the survey conducted in Wisconsin state in 1946[34], 16.14 percent of social studies teachers did not possess an undergraduate degree. Only 49.04 percent of them had undergraduate degrees in social studies. Moreover, 40 percent of Wisconsin secondary schools reported that about 31 percent of the social studies teachers also taught English, science, languages, mathematics, and music. Unfortunately, teachers dispersed over several large areas may have lacked suitable academic backgrounds. The situation was most serious in small. rural high schools with three to ten teachers.. These social studies teachers would teach several different subject areas without adequate background and training. The problem of insufficient training was the main result of the teacher shortage after the war. The most telling figures were those representing the teacher shortage (200,000 to 300,000 teachers)[35] and the number of teachers who held substandard credentials. A estimated total of 78,665 teachers during 1944-45, 108,932 during 1945-46, and more than 100,100 teachers during 1946-47 were employed with emergency permits, which were given to persons who could not meet regular certification requirements. In addition, over 150,000 additional teachers were needed to fill entirely new teaching positions to be created during the next few years to meet the needs of increasing postwar student enrollments following the rise the birthrate after1940.

Adding to the severe shortage conditions was the heavy withdrawal of teachers from the schools. A survey[36] of the enrollment in 156 institutions for the preparation of teachers shows

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31. 415 public high secondary schools of a state total of 461 in Wisconsin state were studies in 1946. L. Haas, "Status of Social Studies in Wisconsin Secondary Schools."

32. *National Council for Social Studies Yearbook* (1952):62

33. L. Haas, ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. *U.S. Office of Education Bulletin* (1947); Benjamin W. Frazier, "Teacher Shortege in 1946", *High Points*, 28 (January 1946): 9-14.

36. Edwin C. Browne, "Problems in the Teachers' Shortage", *California Journal of Secondary Education*, 22 (May 1947): 273-276.

that 106,960 students enrolled in 1941, and 66,803students in the same colleges in 1945. As it shows, drops in enrollments at teachers' colleges for several years set the stage for later teacher shortages. Although enrollments in 1945 increased slightly, it was still only 62.4 percent of the enrollments in 1941. In 1945, 7 percent of all college students enrolled in teachers' colleges, while in 1920, 22 percent of all college students enrolled in teachers' colleges[37]. The problem of a teacher shortage would continue at least a few more years, even though the enrollments of teachers were rapidly increasing.

In addition to the teacher shortage revealed by the previous survey, the relatively high wages paid in other, non-teaching vocations added to teacher attrition. The average salary per teacher was estimated to be $1,900 in 1946, which was at least $500 less than workers were making in industry. It is frequently reported that large numbers of teachers wanted to transfer to locations where better salaries were available or to change careers[38]. Such inequities distracted teachers from keeping pace with the requirements of social studies.

Conclusion

During the postwar period, there was an increase in social courses dedicated to history, including U.S., local, world, and modern history. The social studies curriculum during 1945-50 focused on enlarging students' understanding of contemporary world affairs. Courses in problems of democracy, world geography, international relations, and modern history courses were often added as requirements for graduation from high schools. To give students an understanding of contemporary world affairs, the methods of correlation, fusion, and integration of subjects were considered as desirable ways of teaching, as opposed to traditional methods that taught subjects separately.

However, there were many limitations to achieving a goal such as the development of world understanding. The most serious problems during 1945-50 were the shortage of teachers and substandard teacher training. Social studies teachers had, besides large workloads, class sizes of 35 or more students. The numerous social studies teachers who held substandard credentials taught not only social studies but also science, mathematics, and English. These conditions made it difficult to implement the core programs intended to convey world understanding to students. Such programs required extensive teacher preparation and a deep knowledge of several subjects. Thus, courses such as contemporary affairs, international relations, and problems of democracy became simply repeated parts of traditional subjects. Furthermore, the objectives of social studies were not flexible enough be readily adapted to the changing needs of the postwar period. Social studies textbooks and materials quickly became out of date in a rapidly changing world. The period of 1945-50 was a time for schools to put special effort into recovery and change, but the pace of the actual change was slow in spite of the urgent need to bridge the gap between the goal of world understanding and what social studies could provide.

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37. [1]Benjamin W. Frazier, ibid.
38. Edwin C. Brown, ibid.

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